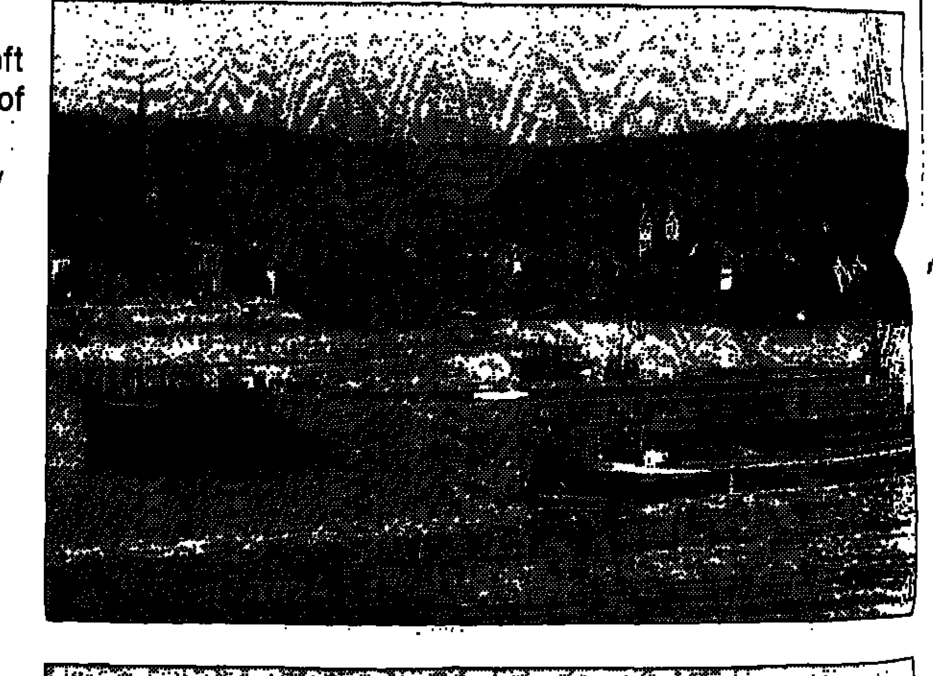
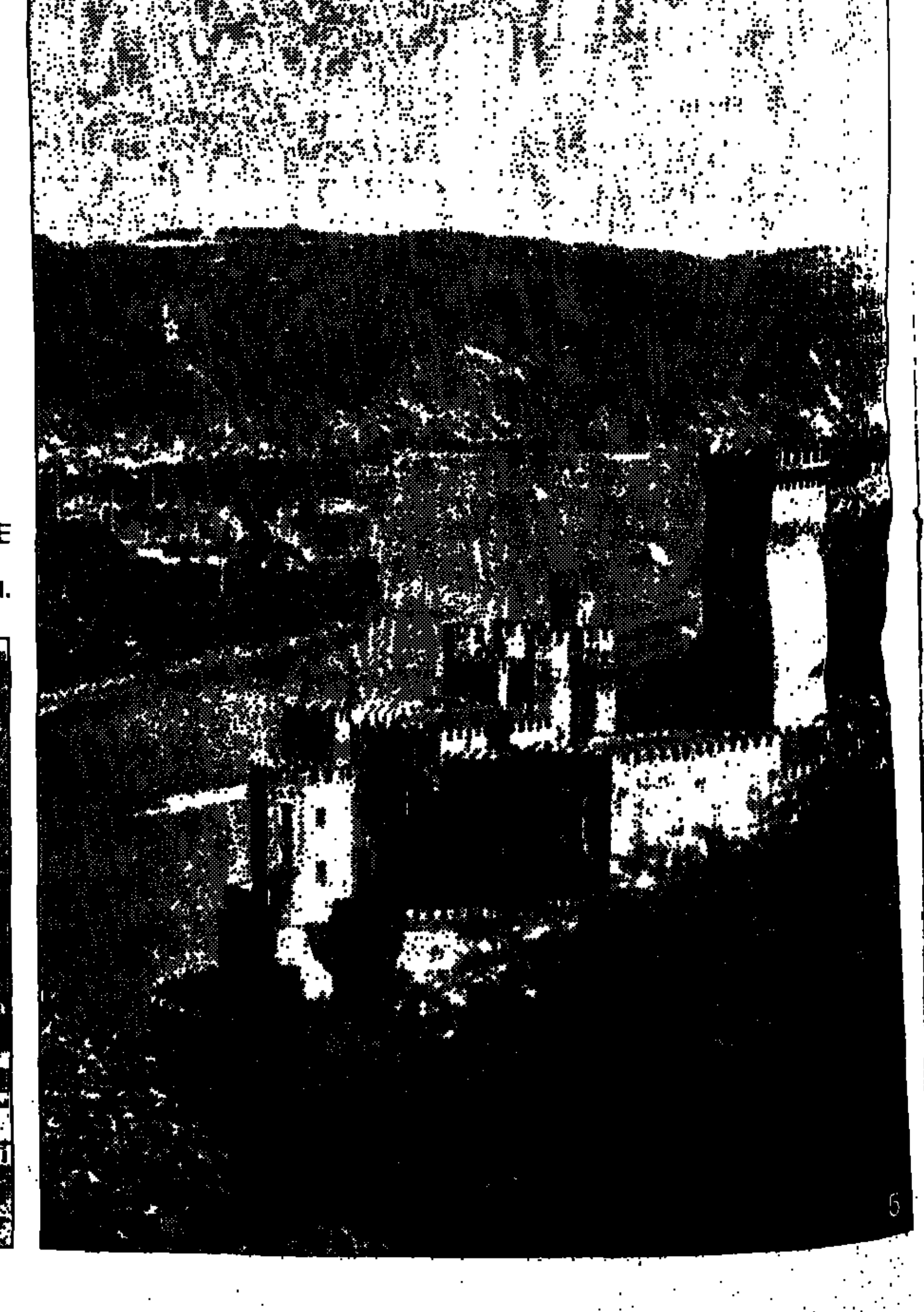










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How building the Berlin Wall signified a drawn game

Frankfurter Allgemeine

Building of the Berlin Wall began one fine Sunday morning 25 years ago, on 13 August 1961. But what happened can hardly be said to have come like a bolt from the blue.

Storm clouds had been gathering all summer as East German border guards and "works defence units" ran barbed wire right through the heart of Berlin. The Four-Power status of the old German capital had been dealt a body blow.

Then the Wall was built, bringing an end to the mass exodus from East Germany triggered by the collectivisation of agriculture, the nationalisation of the economy, the enforced uniformity of what people thought and the system of control of their everyday lives.

The Berlin Wall, officially known in East Germany as the "anti-fascist protective wall," closed the escape route to the West that had survived in the form of the half-open border with the western sectors of the divided city.

The second major Berlin crisis (the first was the 1948/49 blockade and airlift) began in November 1958 when Soviet Premier Nikita Khrushchev served the West an ultimatum.

Within six months, he said, West Berlin had to become an "independent political entity" and the Western Allies had to withdraw from the city. Otherwise the Soviet Union would hand over its rights to the German Democratic Republic.

Any attack on the frontier of East Germany was an attack on the Warsaw Pact. "All Berlin," East German leader Walter Ulbricht explained, "was on German Democratic Republic territory."

The hydrogen bomb, the sputnik and intercontinental ballistic missiles had tempted the Soviet leaders to cash in their military might in the form of greater power.

Mr Khrushchev said socialism had gained the upper hand in the international arena. But this new feeling of strength was accompanied by fears for an empire that had survived the 1953 popular uprising in East Germany and the 1956 Hungarian uprising and Polish unrest by means of the deployment of Soviet tanks.

Besides, time seemed to be running out fast for the East German leaders as they steadily transformed East Germany into a Soviet-style republic.

What did the Russians want? Not just recognition of East Germany and, after a period of grace, the take-over of West Berlin, but an even more far-reaching strategy.

The aim was to pull the legal ground from under the Allies' feet in Berlin, destroy confidence in Germany and eliminate the European post-war system.

At the Vienna summit in June 1961 Mr Khrushchev brought pressure to bear on President Kennedy, who said he felt there was going to be a cold winter.

The Soviet leader threatened Western Europe with nuclear weapons and demonstrated in East Germany both military power and the will to exercise it.

Nato forces were in the minority in Western Europe, nuclear weapons were the ultima ratio. So the United States reacted by sending in reinforcements, by increasing its military budget and by preparing to stage a fresh airlift.

The Americans showed both determination and readiness to negotiate. What happened in Berlin, bitter though it may have been for the Germans, was a drawn game in terms of world affairs.

The Wall was built but the West retained its "three essentials:" the Allied role as protecting powers in Berlin; unrestricted access to the city; and continued viability of their half of the city.

The Berlin Wall was built 25 years ago, in 1961. See page 5.

Ought the Western Allies to have sent in troops against the East German border guards, who were initially not issued with live ammunition? To say they ought is to forget how explosive the situation was.

The barricades would merely have been built a few yards further back. The Soviet Union went to the brink and the United States took its measure, eyeball to eyeball. But both were reluctant to take the plunge.

The drama that began in Berlin did not come to a head and reach a conclusion until over a year later during the Cuban missile crisis.

For the Soviet Union building the Wall was an expression of both external strength and internal weakness.

To this day the monstrous edifice testifies to the East German Communists' failure to prove their bona fides and to the popular desire to lead a different life.



Dead but not forgotten. Young West Berliners remembers victims of the Wall's bloody history. (Photo: AP)

The Wall is as much part of the German Communists as calling in the receiver is part of bankruptcy proceedings.

Yet in the long term the Wall forced the Party to come to terms with the people and arrive at a modus vivendi with them.

It was forced to permit nooks and crannies of privacy, to accept the hardened arteries of Party doctrine and to buy stability with prosperity rather than enforce it through terror.

Any leeway East Germany has gained to the east it owes to the Wall, which will paralyse it in the West for as long as it exists.

One of its consequences was that fear and common sense led to a new mode of bipolar nuclear system known as detente.

The "hot line" or "red telephone" as a means of crisis management between Moscow and Washington came in the wake of the treaty banning nuclear tests in the atmosphere.

Nuclear parity forced the superpowers to take a closer look at arms control.

For the Federal Republic of Germany the Wall marked a turning-point. Beforehand Bonn might have wished East Germany would disappear. From then on it was clear that the Soviet empire was in Central Europe to stay — and so was East Germany.

There was no deadline for reunification. Detente brought with it what had

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A balancing act for 25 years in divided city

Relations between the two German states are difficult. Just how difficult was illustrated during by events marking the 25th anniversary of the Berlin Wall.

First Chancellor Kohl, SPD leader Willy Brandt and West Berlin Mayor Eberhard Diepgen condemned what the Chancellor called "this monument to inhumanity."

They spoke in the Reichstag, a historic building barely a stone's throw from the Wall.

A few hours later and still fewer miles away, the East Germans held a martial ceremony attended by East Berlin party leader Erich Honecker.

As the 1972 Basic Treaty between the two German states wryly comments, the Federal Republic and the German Democratic Republic "will develop normal good-neighbourly relations with each other."

Were these simultaneous yet so different anniversary events in Berlin a fair reflection of intra-German relations? What impression has the current flood of speeches, articles and gestures made?

In the West they have fittingly testified to a lamentable anniversary, although anger has mostly been offset by commitments to collaboration with the East German leaders.

The martial noises made in East Berlin need not, for that matter, be seen as the end of Herr Honecker's readiness to collaborate and to negotiate with Bonn.

Were it not for the blunt way in which East Berlin dashed Bonn's hopes of coming to some arrangement on the influx of asylum applicants via East Germany the atmosphere of intra-German

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Look, no hands! Bulgarians show Bonn delegation how things have changed

DIE ZEIT

Bundestag Speaker Philipp Jenninger and a four-member delegation representing the four parliamentary parties in Bonn were proudly shown round an impressive dairy in the sundrenched Dobrudja.

Fifty cows slowly rotated on a space- and labour-saving disc as they were automatically fed and milked.

The tour of the highly modern dairy breeding complex in Tolbukhin, Bulgaria, ended at a small museum where yellowing photographs show what life used to be like: milking by hand, primitive stables and peasants' backs bent double behind ox-drawn ploughs.

There was no mistaking the genuine pride in progress Herr Jenninger and his delegation constantly encountered in Bulgaria.

The success stories related by district chairmen, works managers and Party officials were party intended to impress upon the visitors that every effort and every deutschemark invested by the Federal Republic of Germany in cooperation with Bulgaria would be money well spent.

Much the same message was implied on the guided tours of works manufacturing industrial robots and machine tools.

Formally the tour, which fell little short of a state visit in the extent of its programme and its protocol, was in return for an extended visit paid by the chairman of the Bulgarian People's Chamber, Stanko Todorov, to Bonn, Bremen, Hamburg and other places in north Germany last autumn.

East-West affairs remain the privilege of governments, but for some time parliamentarians have met to flesh out political ties. They can speak more freely than is possibly in government negotiations.

Mr Todorov, for instance, has been a member of the Bulgarian politbureau since 1961 and long served as Prime Minister.

As a parliamentarian he was able to say in private, frankly and without beating about the bush, that: "Small countries want to survive."

The old issue of how detente can be sustained and maybe even promoted when the superpowers are at loggerheads is as topical as ever.

At major East-West conferences Bulgaria only occasionally has wishes of its own, such as proposals for nuclear-free and chemical weapon-free zones in the Balkans.

But even a desire such as this depends closely on the general and immediate interest in further progress toward detente.

Bulgaria needs detente, Mr Todorov told the Bonn delegation, to make further progress toward its aim of adding a firm industrial base, especially one founded on technology of the future, to rank alongside its agricultural groundwork.

Unlike neighbouring Rumania, Bulgaria has avoided trying to achieve too much at once, but Sofia is anxious not to miss the opportunity of keeping abreast of the future.

It feels it can only do so by close cooperation with the West, especially with the Federal Republic of Germany. And this line of thought goes further, although its extension is not expressly stated.

Relations with Russia have been based on deep and friendly feelings ever since the Tsar freed Bulgaria from centuries of Turkish oppression, and Soviet aid since the Second World War has enhanced what are truly good-neighbourly relations.

The barely explicable ill-feeling that initially arose between the new man in the Kremlin, Mikhail Gorbachov, and the grand old man of Bulgaria, Party leader and state council chairman Todor Zhivkov, seems to have been dispelled.

Bulgaria as a modern industrial state, the argument continues, would naturally carry a clout of its own in the East Bloc and could, within limits, use it within the socialist camp and in the interest of further detente.

What is at stake, in the final analysis, is the role of smaller countries between the superpowers, as it were.

Herr Jenninger took up this idea from a different angle by referring, in Bulgaria, to the cultural identity of Europe and to the need to make contributions toward confidence-building in Europe.

Before taking over at the helm of the Bundestag he was fast emerging as a keen Christian Democratic specialist in Deutschlandpolitik.

He has retained much of this interest and is still keen to establish cross-ties in the European house that will survive and bear the brunt of possible fresh tremors in East-West relations.

In everyday affairs rapprochement is a topic that subdivides into a number of difficult sub-headings.

The German-Bulgarian parliamentary group led by Social Democrat Klaus Immer and Free Democrat Olaf Feldmann quietly beavers away at grassroots work.

Foreign Minister Hans-Dietrich Genscher has so painstakingly kept up a wealth of carefully-tended contacts that smaller Eastern European countries have come to see him as standing for the patient and tenacious pursuit of detente.

But problems invariably arise when the discussion gets down to details. A German-Bulgarian investment promotion agreement was signed last spring and a double taxation agreement would probably been have signed already but for a number of outstanding problems over the inclusion of West Berlin.

The Bulgarians are not sufficiently unorthodox as to break ranks and rush ahead of the rest of the East Bloc.

Herr Jenninger was particularly keen to persuade his hosts to agree to the opening of a Goethe Institute in Sofia but Bulgaria preferred to shelve the idea for the time being even though cultural ties are a busy two-way traffic.

Sofia prefers not to upset the GDR and is worried, as Communists invariably are, that the idea might prove infectious and seed developments it could no longer control.

Even so, now a cultural agreement has been signed by Bonn and East Berlin and now Bonn and Moscow have agreed to include West Berlin in an agreement on scientific and technological cooperation others seem sure to follow suit.

Moscow is of course the judge of how far progress is to be allowed to go, arguably more so and on a wider range of issues than in the days when old men held sway in the Kremlin.

Herr Jenninger reiterated Chancellor Kohl's invitation to the Bulgarian leader to visit the Federal Republic. Like the GDR's Erich Honecker, Mr Zhivkov called off previous plans to visit Bonn at the last minute two years ago at Moscow's behest.

The Bundestag Speaker was *told* Mr Zhivkov's bags were packed *but he* could not set out with them *until there* was an improvement in the atmosphere of international political relations.

The meeting with *Mr Zhivkov* in his summer holiday residence on the Black Sea coast near Varna was a clear token of the importance Bulgaria attached to the visit by a Western parliamentary leader.

The Bulgarian leader, who has led the Communist Party since 1954, making him the longest-serving Party general secretary in the East Bloc, looks far younger than 75.

Carried away by his desire to put his message across, he gave his interpreters a hard time keeping up with him as he addressed the West German delegation.

Chernobyl was the keyword he chose to put across his East Bloc message to the West, and a very distinctive message it was in its undertones.

Since the Soviet reactor catastrophe, he told his guests, it had been unmistakably clear what a nuclear strike would involve. "Civilisation," he said, "is at stake."

In a flurry of figures of speech he compared the possible catastrophe with the Flood. Had not wolf and lamb had jointly to seek refuge on board the Ark, he asked.

Mr Zhivkov is not a man to go in for back-slapping with Western visitors and on one issue he raised before a wider public he sounded a worried *note.*

Anxiety accompanied peasant cunning, irony, polemics and the official viewpoint as he asked *the Bonn* delegation why, if the *capitalists* were convinced that socialism would collapse before long, they must first jeopardise the survival of all mankind?

This query might be answered more authoritatively at a higher level, but at times the smaller East Bloc expeditions are more revealing than larger ventures.

Carl-Christian Kaiser

(Die Zeit, Hamburg, 15 August 1986)

New rail link: Albania peers cautiously out of its closet

Albania, which has so far enjoyed the doubtful distinction of being the country most isolated from the outside world, has established slightly closer ties with Western Europe.

A fortnight behind schedule a 24km (16-mile) section of railway line has been opened between Hani Hotit on the Albanian border and Titograd, capital of the Yugoslav republic of Montenegro.

Albania, with its 28,748 square kilometres and three million people, is now linked to the European rail network.

Inauguration of the new rail link, in which Yugoslavia invested seven billion dinars, was nearly cancelled over the latest bout of polemics between Belgrade and Tirana.

As usual, the two countries were at loggerheads over the Albanian minority in the Yugoslav autonomous province of Kosovo.

The Albanian Party newspaper *Zeri i Popullit* unexpectedly aimed a fresh propaganda broadside at Yugoslavia, accusing Belgrade of simply ignoring the rights of the Albanian minority.

The Yugoslav claim that Tirana was fomenting unrest in Kosovo was merely designed to discredit Albania abroad.

Belgrade did not take this attack lying down. Albania was accused in the Yugoslav Party newspaper *Kommunist* of not only intervening in the domestic affairs of a neighbouring countries but also staking territorial claims.

The Albanian post office had recently issued a set of stamps in which several Yugoslav cities in Kosovo province were made out to be Albanian.

The head of the Montenegrin railway board promptly postponed inauguration of the new line, saying his budget did not provide for the purchase of the two extra locomotives needed to run the service.

Western diplomats in the Yugoslav capital were already wondering whether Albania might not, after all, get its link with the European railway network.

At the inauguration ceremony in Titograd there was little or no trace of the preceding propaganda clash.

The Albanian representative, Faik Cina, governor of Skutari province and a member of the presidium of the Albanian parliament, stressed that the link was designed to promote both foreign trade and good-neighbourly relations between Tirana and Belgrade.

Yugoslav Transport Minister Pljakic emphasised that all parts of Europe ought to have access to the rest of the continent.

Travellers to Albania will not benefit from the new rail link. Tirana is concerned solely with boosting trade with Western Europe.

Exports used to be sent almost entirely by truck through Yugoslavia. Rail freight should cut costs considerably.

The rail link between Hani Hotit and Titograde undeniably has a further political significance.

Only 16 months after the death of Enver Hoxha, Party leader Ramiz Alia has shown yet again that isolationist Albania is interested, up to a point, in closer ties with certain countries in Western Europe.

Most headway has been made in relations with Greece. Following a visit by a Foreign Ministry delegation it was announced that the state of war between

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■ HOME AFFAIRS

Greens likely to dominate SPD conference

The Greens are likely to dominate the Social Democrat party conference in Nuremberg this month. Nothing in the motions to be put explicitly rules out the possibility of an alliance with the Greens.

Chancellor candidate Johannes Rau has repeatedly rejected the idea of a coalition with the Greens. He maintains that the SPD can get an absolute majority in January.

Many party members wish he were not so adamant. Senior party figures Peter Glotz and Willy Brandt have referred to 43 per cent of the votes cast as a realistic aim.

This difference is why the issue of the Greens is remaining on the boil. If the SPD does get 43 per cent, should it try to form a coalition government with the Greens or not?

On other issues, the list of motions makes it clear that an SPD government would halt deployment of Pershing and cruise missiles; call upon the Soviet Union to make cuts in it SS20 missile arsenal; investigate ways of generating non-nuclear energy sources; introduce a tax surcharge to fight unemployment; undo law-and-order measures introduced by the government; and restore welfare benefits cut by the government.

Delegates will have to work their way through the well over 600 motions listed in a 901-page book.

Those proposals likely to form the basis for the SPD's policy programme should Johannes Rau be elected Chancellor will be dealt with at a special party conference in Offenburg.

Both conferences are expected to focus on more or less the same issues.

One of the SPD conference delegates happens to be a namesake of Chancellor Kohl's wife, Hannelore Kohl.

It will be interesting to see whether Shadow Chancellor Rau sticks to his prediction that the party will get an absolute majority or whether Willy Brandt's forecast of a "fair victory" of 43 per cent is more realistic. Delegates may decide that it is.

The motions to be put show that in the field of foreign and security policies, a future SPD government in Bonn would try to ban further deployment of Pershing and cruise missiles in the Federal Republic and try to get rid of missiles already deployed.

It would also call upon the USSR to do the same in its sphere of influence and drastically reduce the number of SS 20 missiles to the 1979 level.

The key phrase for SPD disarmament experts is *strukturelle Nichtangriffsfähigkeit* (structural non-aggression ability), a concept which requires both military changes and a reduction of irrational fears.

In the main motion to be forwarded by the SPD's executive committee 27 lines refer to the relationship between the SPD and the peace movement.

The pacifists, it says, are there to show their desire for peace, whereas the SPD is there to translate this desire into the practical politics of government.

Ex-Chancellor Helmut Schmidt can tell a tale or two about what that meant during his final months in office.

A special commission set up by the executive committee and headed by former minister Volker Hauff will be taking a look at means of supplying energy without the use of nuclear power and elaborating energy policy guidelines.

Former government spokesman Klaus Bölling recently praised Hauff as the better candidate for chancellor.

The list of motions for the party conference make it clear that the SPD rejects the further use of nuclear energy.

There is outspoken opposition to the high-temperature reactor in Hamm, the fast breeder reactor in Kalkar and the nuclear fuel reprocessing plant in Wackersdorf.

The SPD would like to see nuclear energy phased out in accordance with a graduated phase-out plan.

New nuclear power plants, it feels, should not be made operational.

One primary objective of the main motion on environmental policy is to turn ecological aims into economic motivation.

Particular reference is made to the international dimension of environmental protection.

The economic policy section focuses on a special investment programme for the future and a reduction of working hours.

This section is called the Nuremberg Action Programme.

In an effort to fight unemployment this programme calls for financing of the labour market via an income tax surcharge.

In the field of domestic and legal policies the SPD wants to undo the whole package of law-and-order measures introduced by the present government.

A humane organisation of the future is called for in the field of new technologies.

As regards social policy measures various groups within the SPD call for the increase or reintroduction of welfare benefits cut or dropped altogether by the present government.

There is no indication, however, of how this could be financed.

The 901-page opus deals with each policy field comprehensively.

Some of the motions deal with petty issues, for example, whether to keep on running a train service between Herford and Bassum.

Others recur, a fact which indicates that the "exchange of ideas" between the party's individual district organisations functions well.

None of the motions reveal how the SPD intends to achieve an absolute majority in the general election.

It comes as no surprise that coalitions with the CDU and FDP are explicitly ruled out in the motions relating to the SPD's possible government policy programme.

None of the motions, however explicitly rules out the possibility of an alliance with the Greens.

Shadow Chancellor Rau has repeatedly stated that the SPD does not want such an alliance.

This will probably turn out to be the main issue at the party conferences.

Now that Peter Glotz and Willy Brandt have referred to a figure of 43 per cent as a realistic election goal Shadow Chancellor Rau finds himself out in the cold with his sunny optimism of an absolute majority.

An increase in votes is expected, but not a majority without some kind of coalition.

This means that the question of an alliance between the SPD and Greens is bound to remain a key pre-election issue.

Johannes Rau has categorically rejected the idea of such an alliance.

Members of the SPD's parliamentary party wish they could persuade him to back down from this position.

What is the party conference in Nuremberg likely to say?

Thomas Wittke

(General-Anzeiger Bonn, 8 August 1986)

Poll to pit non-superstar Rau against non-underdog Kohl

For a long time it looked as if the Social Democrats had hit the jackpot with the selection of Johannes Rau to lead them into the general election next January.

Opinion polls showed him way ahead of Chancellor Kohl and hopes were high that Rau's achievement in North-Rhine Westphalia, where he last year won an absolute majority, would be repeated at a national level.

But the election in Lower Saxony earlier this year where the CDU retained power narrowly, brought any high-flying SPD ideas down to earth.

The party meets this month in Nuremberg to draw up its election platform. And it is not likely to be satisfied with pinning all its hopes on Rau.

The situation for the CDU/CSU is slightly different. There has been a school of thought which says they are confident of winning despite the Chancellor.

However, this is an exaggerated attitude. Most Christian Democrats feel that the government (and that includes Kohl) has done enough since being elected in 1982 to get re-elected.

Social Democrat politicians are aware that their party is far from regaining the confidence which kept it in power for 13 years from the late 60s.

This explains the choice of Rau, the people's politician, as its frontrunner. The question of whether Rau would make a good Chancellor hardly seemed to come into it: voter appeal was the thing.

Many CDU politicians (and the entire CSU) on the other hand know that Kohl's electoral appeal is limited.

Before the Lower Saxony poll, some CDU people were talking about dropping him. But the party's narrow win (it lost its absolute majority) ended that line of thought.

Hannoversche Allgemeine

On the other hand, the SPD must now realise that its policy of going for Rau as its trump card has drawbacks.

SPD's strategy can only work out if (1) the party gears its election campaign tactics to the idiosyncracies of its candidate for chancellor, (2) this candidate shows no weaknesses, and (3) the fact that some of his party colleagues have their doubts about his suitability for the position of Chancellor does not become publicly known at too early a stage.

On all three counts, however, things are not running according to plan.

Since he was nominated Rau has been repeatedly obliged to go back on or modify statements he has made in public.

His initially shaky stance on Nato was particularly serious.

Right from the start it was doubtful whether the harmony needed between the SPD and its chancellorship candidate would develop.

Rau was complaining as long ago as March that the SPD was letting him fight it out alone "in the arena" and not giving him active support. Things have not improved much since.

Rau would have made a good preacher. A man who calls for harmony and is unwilling to hurt anyone doesn't really fit in with his party's longing for election battle cries.

The worst blow to the Social Democrats' campaign concept, however, has now been dealt by a man from the SPD's own ranks, Klaus Bölling.

Helmut Schmidt's former government spokesman, Bölling, publicly claimed that Rau was not the right man for the job of Chancellor.

Although Bölling today is a party outsider, he is not the only one who thinks this way.

Many SPD people, although hoping that Rau will win, fear that he will become a second Helmut Kohl.

Some are wondering whether it was right to nominate a man who is so committed to a middle-of-the-road course and so un-committed to truly socialist aims.

The party wing which seeks its salvation in a political alliance with the Greens has become silent.

However, ever since Rau announced that he would not let himself be elected Chancellor with the support of the Greens it has become clear that election day, 25 January, 1987, will be an "all or nothing" day for the SPD.

Only an absolute majority would mean victory, any other result defeat.

This is no inspiring prospect, but resembles the behaviour of a gambler who bets all his money on one number at the roulette table.

The CDU/CSU is also unlikely to get and absolute majority. But in contrast, they can count on a coalition partner, the FDP.

This means that they can sit back and wait for between 42 and 45 per cent of the vote. That will be enough if the FDP does reasonably well.

It is out of the question that the FDP will change their coat yet again and go back to their former allies, the SPD. The SPD has been making tentative overtures and the FDP has been under constant attack from the CSU leader, Bavarian Prime Minister Franz Josef Strauss. But any change now would be suicidal.

So the CDU/CSU can afford to run the risk of fighting the campaign with Helmut Kohl. Some in the Union even that it is better to have Kohl than a stronger and more popular chancellor. They feel the safest strategy is a strong alliance with the FDP.

In other words, the two Union parties must give the FDP enough room to manoeuvre to make sure it keeps its head above water and gets the crucial five per cent of the votes cast.

The situation of the Greens here is uncertain. They have no prospect of having any influence in the formation of a government. Also, the SPD, which some Greens feel is the obvious partner for an alliance, is becoming the Greens' most dangerous rival.

One thing is clear: if Rau is to have any chance of getting an absolute majority, he must do it at the expense of the Greens.

That means Greens voters must desert in droves to the SPD. They would have to go in such numbers that there would be no more Greens left in the Bundestag.

Wolfgang Wagner

(Hannoversche Allgemeine, 9 August 1986)

■ GERMANY

Tougher visa controls likely to close asylum floodgates



Bonn government officials are considering fining airlines which fly in people of certain nationalities who do not have appropriate visas. The aim is to halt the flood of asylum applicants.

This is one of several steps being looked at. Another is to toughen up visa regulations in some countries. There is no intention of bowing to demands to amend the constitutional right of political asylum.

Consideration is first being given to moves that involve the Foreign Office. In several countries of origin, German missions are to be instructed to be more careful in issuing tourist visas.

Forty per cent of Iranian and nearly 10 per cent of Ethiopian asylum applicants are said to arrive in the Federal Republic of Germany with tourist visas.

There are also plans to fine airlines that fly in citizens of "problem countries" who are not holders of the appropriate visa.

This move is not expected to achieve too much in the way of results, but it may help to ensure enforcement of the obligation on airlines to fly back at their own expense aliens who are refused entry. This obligation arises from the Aliens Act.

Yet over two thirds of the 23,000 aliens who have so far arrived in the West this year via Schönefeld airport and East Berlin were carried by Aeroflot, the Soviet airline.

The remainder flew with Interflug, the East German airline, and with three smaller Middle Eastern airlines.

Obliging Aeroflot for one to fly back aliens who are refused entry seems sure to be easier said than done.

Besides, this provision only stands the slightest chance of being enforced when an alien is immediately refused entry, either because he doesn't hold a visa or because other provisions of the Aliens Act apply.

If an alien immediately applies for *asylum, as is usually the case with those* who arrive via East Berlin or East Germany, they can only be refused entry if their applications are "patently unwarranted," which is seldom apparent at first glance except when applicants are particularly inept.

Last year 11 per cent of applicants handled by the department responsible for processing asylum applications, a government agency in Zirndorf, Bavaria, were rejected because their applications were "patently unwarranted."

This year the proportion is unlikely to be higher, especially as the growing influx of applicants, about 50,000 already, is bound to slow down the time it takes to process applications.

Interior Ministry officials say they hope to reduce the average processing period to six months, as against the present year, but with a backlog already totalling 60,000 further delays, say a waiting list of two years, are likelier.

At present only half as many applications a month can be processed as are submitted. So further delays seem a foregone conclusion.

The only way to effectively speed up the procedure is to employ more staff at Zirndorf, where 120 officials process asylum applications (and have done so individually, not collectively, since procedural changes introduced in 1982).

It is hard to say whether the 1982 changes have accelerated matters. This year the agency has been allocated 126 extra staff, but not all will be handling asylum applications.

Next year they are to be joined in Zirndorf and at other locations by a further 80 officials. But finding suitable candidates is easier said than done. Zirndorf is not a popular location and the work is hard.

Officials face the problem of communicating with applicants from Third World countries and need to combine sensitivity toward descriptions of conditions in far-off countries and a readiness to reach decisions regardless of any sympathy they may feel.

Only senior civil service grades can be considered for demanding work of this special nature.

The next step is the administrative court case, which can result in an application being turned down as either "patently unwarranted" or unwarranted (with no further qualification).

The difference between the two is that an application turned down because it is "patently unwarranted" can be followed by immediate deportation proceedings.

Administrative court proceedings currently take about 16 months on average, and an increase in the number of judges allocated to handle cases of this kind seems unlikely in view of the need for economies in government spending.

The Federal Constitutional Court has ruled that appeals against a "patently unwarranted" must be considered comprehensively and not just in brief.

So there are limits to the time that might be gained by setting up courts at the border; comprehensive consideration takes time no matter where it takes place.

Yet procedures might still be accelerated to some extent. The Federal Justice Ministry is reviewing possibilities.

Consideration is also being given to limiting appeals against asylum application rulings to a single higher court. That would necessitate legislation but would be legally possible, the Constitutional Court having ruled that a single court of appeal is sufficient recourse.

But lower administrative courts would be the obvious choice to handle appeals and they might, on grounds of caution or ideological bias, tend to waive rejections, and their rulings would then be final.

Asylum procedures take so long, including court proceedings, that practical limitations are imposed on the obligation on airlines to fly rejected applicants home. Legislative amendments are here under consideration.

To stay deportation proceedings bogus applicants have increasingly taken to destroying their passports. The authorities can then no longer check whether they held valid visas nor say for sure which country of origin must take them back.

Airlines might perhaps be required to collect passengers' passports and hand them over to the German authorities together with the manifests.

This is a procedure anyone who has ever gone on a bus tour to East Germany will be acquainted with.

It is doubtful whether Aeroflot could be persuaded to agree to this procedure, but it is surely worth the attempt, and a refusal would be most revealing.

Interior Ministry officials are unhappy about figures indicating that the problem is less serious than is claimed. These figures merely list the numbers of asylum applicants whose applications have been granted.

They number a mere 65,000 of the over four million foreign nationals resident in the Federal Republic.

But there are about 130,000 members of their families, roughly the same number of applicants whose applications are still being processed and about 30,000 quota refugees from South-East Asia.

(An international conference is shortly to review the activities of the *Cap Anamur* and other ships that take Vietnamese boat people on board in the South China Sea.)

Then there are 42,000 approved displaced and stateless persons and about 270,000 refugees who are not entitled to asylum but have been allowed to stay in Germany on humanitarian grounds.

So the total number of aliens resident in the Federal Republic whose status bears some relation to that of political asylum is over 600,000.

The Interior Ministry will hear nothing of the widespread argument that other countries handle similar numbers of asylum applicants.

Last year there were 74,000 applicants in the Federal Republic, as against 28,000 in France and 5,000 each in Holland and Belgium.

The Scandinavian countries are said to be in the process of making their asylum regulations more exacting. So are Switzerland and France.

Procedures are invariably administrative, with little or no right of legal recourse.

It seems reasonable to assume that the growing length of time it takes to process asylum applications in the Federal Republic is an added attraction for applicants whose motives are not political.

(Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung für Deutschland, 14 August 1986)

Continued from page 2

the two countries, which had existed since 1940, must be ended.

Greek Premier Andreas Papandreou has yet to declare the state of war over, but mainly because the lobby of Greeks exiled from southern Albania is still very powerful.

Trade between the two countries is flourishing, however. Progress has also been made in talks with Bonn, so diplomatic ties can be expected to be established in the foreseeable future.

Bavarian Premier Franz Josef Strauss visited Albania on 19 May, for the second time in 18 months.

Tirana evidently plans to establish diplomatic ties with Britain and Spain too. Albania's decision to join the International Atomic Energy Authority (IAEA) in Vienna also created a stir.

Trade considerations predominate in this opening to the West. It doesn't look for one moment as though Albania has any intention of changing its domestic and foreign policies.

Evangelos Antonaros/SAD

(Die Welt, Bonn, 13 August 1986)

■ BERLIN

A city that reflects the hots and colds of detente

STUTTGARTER NACHRICHTEN

As a seismograph of the fragile state of East-West detente, Berlin remains one of the sensitive zones in world affairs.

Normal relations have not been established with the East. Moscow continues to see West Berlin mainly as a sort of special entity within East Germany that does not belong to any other state.

Even so, the rethink triggered by the building of the Wall has led to improvements in day-to-day affairs.

The main lesson Western politicians have slowly learnt since 1961 is that they are not able to do anything about what happens in the Soviet sphere of influence.

Years of subsequent rows on access routes between Berlin and the West steadily hammered this message home, while internationally the Hallstein Doctrine steadily lost ground.

The Hallstein Doctrine committed Bonn to breaking off diplomatic ties with countries that recognised East Germany. Over the years there has been growing readiness to accept the existence of East Germany as a second German state.

Henry Kissinger must be credited with having brought to a successful conclusion the efforts to establish better safeguards for Berlin.

He did so in the context of the new Ostpolitik pursued initially by the Grand Coalition of Christian and Social Democrats and then by the SPD-FDP coalition led by Chancellor Brandt and Foreign Minister Scheel.

Dr Kissinger, as President Nixon's national security adviser, set out despite the continuation of war in Vietnam to establish relations between Washington and Moscow on a new basis by means of strategic arms control.

By a kind of linkage he pegged a Berlin agreement to the Soviet leaders' interest in treaty safeguards for post-war frontiers in Europe and in a European security conference.

The East was to abandon the destabilisation of West Berlin and recognise that it formed part of the West.

For 16 months and 27 days the ambassadors of the Four Powers spent 150 hours balancing their respective interests at talks held in the former Allied Control Council building.

Then, on 3 September 1971, the Four-Power Berlin Agreement was ready to be signed.

East Germany's collaboration was and remains an essential prerequisite of its implementation. Without East Berlin's cooperation the package of important improvements in transit traffic would not have been possible.

Moscow supported East Berlin's efforts to draw a dividing line with the West for as long as Bonn refused to recognise East Germany.

As soon as Bonn began to consider recognising East Germany, Soviet interest in detente increased.

Walter Ulbricht probably had to go in May 1971 because he failed to appreciate this point and was reluctant to come to terms on Berlin.

He was replaced as Party leader by Erich Honecker, the man who virtually masterminded the building of the Wall in 1961.

Realignments in and around Berlin include the way in which East Germany, keen to flex its muscle in world affairs, brings its weight to play.

The Four-Power Agreement was signed by the US, Soviet, British and French governments "regardless of their legal positions."

East Germany holds the Eastern view that the Agreement applies only to the western sectors of the divided city.

It misses no opportunity of fully integrating the eastern sector in East Germany. East Berlin legislation is no longer published in the East Berlin official gazette and since October 1976 East Berlin members of the People's Chamber have no longer been issued with special passes.

Since 1977 all non-German day visitors to East Berlin except Allied military and diplomatic personnel have had to hold visas.

Border checks between East Berlin and East Germany have been abolished. But East Berlin recently had to beat a retreat after failing in an attempt to insist on diplomats showing passports at the border between the two halves of the city, thereby validating it as an international frontier.

A debate on relations between the people of Berlin and the protecting powers has been launched by the Alternative List, an anti-nuclear, ecological group in the city council.

Berlin lacks, for instance, a constitutional court. German courts can only rule on acts relating to Allied sovereign rights subject to permission being granted by the Allied commanding officers.

This permission is seldom withheld, but the situation is typical of the retention of Allied rights and agreements to ensure the city's status and of the limited extent of German political independence.

President Mitterrand of France said in *October 1985 on a visit to Berlin that the* city's special status must not hinder the exercise of basic freedoms but the city's position was anchored in a "legal situation."

These limitations are barely felt in everyday life, and the people of West Berlin will doubtless continue to regard them as a fairly modest price to pay for their security and freedom when they look over the Wall.

Claus Höcker

(Stuttgarter Nachrichten, 11 August 1986)

Bride and husband in West face her parents in East, 1961. (Photo: dpa)

The bloody toll of those who tripped and fell

Since the Berlin Wall was built 25 years ago nearly 35,000 "acts of violence" by members of the East German armed forces and government officials have been registered.

The register is in Salzgitter, a steel town near Brunswick not far from the border between East Germany and the Federal Republic.

The Justice Ministries of the *Länder* set up a central office here in 1961, just after the Wall was built, to monitor indictable offences committed on the border.

Chief public prosecutor Retemeyer, the head of the bureau, says 634 new cases have been registered so far this year, bringing the total to 34,918.

The Salzgitter files include 4,295 cases of homicide, including attempted homicide, 602 cases of maltreatment, 2,720 of political suspicion, 24,716 convictions on political grounds and 2,585 persons arrested in the border zone.

Records for the last category were only kept until 1968.

Homicide, down to 32 cases last year, comprises the use of firearms, automatic guns and mines against refugees.

Over the past 25 years 110 people have died on the intra-German border and 74 trying to cross from East Berlin and East Germany to West Berlin.

Case records are kept either in Salzgitter or at the Federal Archives in Koblenz.

dpa

(Allgemeine Zeitung, Mainz, 8 August 1986)

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relations could be described as satisfactory.

That was the gist of the white paper presented by Intra-German Affairs Minister Heinrich Windelen, who listed a number of improvements:

- There has been a further increase in the number of East German pensioners allowed to visit the West.
- Youth exchange schemes have at least got off the ground.
- The intra-German cultural agreement was signed, after years of delay, in May.
- The outlook for talks on an environmental agreement and the irksome pollution of the Werra coming to a successful conclusion are by no means bad.
- Above all, since March East Germany has been allowing East Germans to visit the West on "urgent family matters" in such numbers that there is a growing chance of another category of travel to the West for people under pensionable age taking shape.

In short, normalisation has made headway in the 25th year since the Berlin Wall was built.

The concept, controversial at one time, of establishing a network of treaties, agreements and talks with the East Berlin leaders to link the two German states despite division and to counteract it has proved successful.

No-one with any claim to be taken seriously as a politician would now question it for a moment. Helmut Kohl and Willy Brandt both reaffirmed this point in their Reichstag speeches.

They were also agreed in the conclusions they reached: the need for continuation of the intra-German dialogue, promotion of collaboration and improvement in the atmosphere of relations between the two states.

So far so good, and with no irony meant whatever; progress has definitely been made. But we may be running a risk of deluding ourselves as to the extent of and limitations to possible normalisation.

It is clearly beneficial that virtually no serious politician has not shaken hands with Erich Honecker. East German leaders and officials are made welcome in the Federal Republic, which is just as it should be.

But at the same time as hands are shaken and well-chosen words are spoken, people somewhere in Mecklenburg and Saxony are sitting with their bags packed, waiting for permission to migrate to the the West.

The number of treaties and agreements governing intra-German coexistence is on the increase, but what good does that do ordinary people in East Germany?

This question is more easily answered in general terms than with specific reference to tangible benefits for everyone.

Important though it may be to have reached agreement on a border rivulet that for decades has polluted the rivers it flows down into, that surely cannot be the measure of intra-German relations.

The anniversary attention paid to the Wall on both sides is a reminder that intra-German normalisation is a divided normalisation at the best of times — and on shaky ground.

The travel and exit permit arrangements now available, the talks and negotiations that are in progress, the plays, operas and concerts performed, the exhibitions held and discussions staged — they have all changed the reality on both sides, and without doubt for the better.

But this new and regained intra-German reality is surrounded and undermined by another reality, that of lives hemmed in and pettily oppressed by the state of the nation.

Yet that doesn't mean the policy of dialogue and collaboration with the East German leaders should be abandoned. It merely shows what a difficult balancing-act it is and what tension needs to be taken into account.

Progress in intra-German affairs cannot be had for less.

Hermann Rudolph

(Süddeutsche Zeitung, Munich, 14 August 1986)

■ THE WORKFORCE

Unemployment is likely to stay over 2m

Kölner Stadt-Anzeiger

Unemployment is not likely to drop below two million this year. The number of people in employment is increasing, but unemployment is falling much more slowly than the Bonn government and industrial associations expected.

The government had been hoping that two pieces of legislation, one covering early retirement and the other creating incentives for employers to hire, would cut into the jobless queues.

The new laws have been in force respectively for just over two years and just over one. And both have been controversial from the start.

The trade unions have been against early retirement. They would rather see shorter working hours.

They also want the Labour Promotion Act repealed because they say that its provisions for fixed-term contracts make it easier for employers to hire and fire.

Have these laws been ineffective because of inadequate application by both unions and management? Neither is keen on the the early retirement idea. Or has the government been expecting too much?

There's no clear answer. The early retirement measure was intended to have long-term effects, so a better measure of its success might be seen in the future. It is too early to judge the Labour Promotion Act.

But one thing is clear: workers are retiring earlier today than in the seventies.

They are taking advantage of the flexible retirement age ruling and drawing their retirement pensions by referring to the provisions for seriously disability and occupational invalidity as well as to the "59 Regulation", which enables workers to retire before they reach the statutory retirement age.

For two years now people born between 1926 and 1930 have been able to take advantage of the new provisions; either via a general collective bargaining agreement or an arrangements between employees and employers.

When the law was passed Bonn Labour Minister Norbert Blüm claimed that about a million workers were eligible and that 600,000 would take advantage of the offer.

The minister was over-optimistic. By May this year, only just over 53,000 had decided to retire early.

One reason is clearly that neither unions nor management are enthusiastic about the scheme.

Only just over a third of persons qualifying for early retirement are employed in industries which have early retirement provisions.

The idea is very popular in the building industry, for example, but much less popular in metal industries.

In many cases the individual incentives to retire early are inadequate.

A figure of 65 per cent of a person's previous gross income is planned as a minimum early retirement income.

If the branch or firm in which that person works doesn't top up this figure many workers decide to continue working.

For many employers the total costs, i.e. the payment of the early retirement money and of a person to fill the resultant vacancy, are too high.

Employers only receive 35 per cent of the early retirement money from the Federal Labour Office.

Nevertheless, the latest figures do reveal a positive aspect: in many of the cases where workers have opted for early retirement unemployed persons have taken on their jobs.

The corresponding ratio is between 60 and 70 per cent, which is much higher than originally expected.

The continuing criticism of the Labour Promotion Act by the trade unions has now culminated in a call for immediate repeal.

In the opinion of the deputy chairman of the German Trade Unions Federation, Gerd Muhr, the Act has made it easier for companies to hire and fire workers with the help of fixed-term employment contracts, which can now extend to 18 months.

Muhr referred to those persons who again registered as unemployed last year after their short-term unemployment contracts ran out.

Viewed in isolation these figures mean nothing.

They do not indicate whether the fixed-term employment contracts were drawn up in line with previous or current legal provisions.

In addition, they do not indicate whether the shorter-term contracts then became longer-term contracts of employment.

Anyone who compares the effects of the Labour Promotion Act with the American-style hiring-and-firing approach is not familiar with the situation in the USA.

Things there are much tougher.

The Labour Promotion Act is limited until 1990 and the early retirement provisions until 1988.

Although the laws have produced no miracle, neither have they been totally ineffective.

In times of continuingly high unemployment even a slight easing of the situation cannot be dismissed as insignificant.

So the laws should not be tinkered with before they have had a chance to do their job.

Many workers still have the opportunity to retire early. It remains to be seen how many actually do.

And in the case of employment contracts with limited duration it would be better to consider whether they will be needed after 1990 rather than calling for their abolition.

The high level of unemployment makes it essential to make use of any ruling which can help ease the situation, no matter how limited the relief may be.

Heinz Murmann

(Kölner Stadt-Anzeiger, 13 August 1986)

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been the aim of German policy since the later Adenauer era: to arrive at a modus vivendi with the East if only for Berlin's sake.

The 1971 Four-Power Agreement on Berlin imposed legal limits on the wider power struggle for the city. Besides, it paved the way for the Basic Treaty with East Germany.

The international political tug-of-war over Berlin and the test of strength in the city 25 years ago made one point clear.

It was that any Ostpolitik or policy on Germany Bonn might like to pursue can only last if it firmly based on and understood by Bonn's Atlantic and European allies.

Any more far-reaching move would start to jeopardise the survival of the Federal Republic, the freedom of Western Europe and the hopes of those whose lives are still overshadowed by a Wall they will probably have to live with for some time yet.

Michael Stürmer

(Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung für Deutschland, 13 August 1986)

Government to broaden employee investment opportunities

Frankfurter Rundschau

The government is to make it easier for employees to take a financial interest in their employing companies. There are to be changes governing tax advantages for share certificate holders plus other investment incentives.

The changes will be incorporated in the second of two laws aimed at trimming the power of the trade unions if unemployment drops significantly during the 1990s and trade union membership picks up heavily again.

The first prong of the legislation was the first Assets Participation Act (*Vermögensbeteiligungsgesetz*), passed in 1982.

The idea is that workers with their own securities are likely to be content with less in pay negotiations.

The government hopes that this second Act will cushion industrial disputes and trigger a breakthrough in worker participation in productive assets.

At the beginning of September the government coalition's parliamentary parties will probably introduce a bill for a second Assets Act in the Bundestag.

If all goes according to plan this will be signed and sealed before the year is out.

The Act's provisions are no easy reading.

Over one hundred pages of detailed tax law stipulations and their accompanying justifications.

The most important objective is to enable employers and unions to include asset participation models in their collective bargaining agreement alongside aspects of nominal earnings and working time.

As the parliamentary state secretary in Bonn's Labour Ministry, Wolfgang Vogt, put it, this will enable a harmonious income policy which is in keeping with the times and which has a future-oriented distributional and employment policy content.

In order to give the collective bargaining partners the set of tools they need the idea is to initially allow the indirect participation of workers in the capital of companies not listed at the stock exchange and other than those in which they themselves work.

In future the government will then add a further 23 per cent to the maximum savings figure of DM936 per annum it already gives to workers within the framework of the "DM936 law" if that wage-earner opts for a special assets participation in an investment fund.

These special assets not only include securities but also dormant equity holdings in small and medium-sized firms which have not yet been able to get a stock exchange listing.

Workers who acquire shares in a limited liability company (GmbH) will also in future receive financial support from the government.

The government is hoping to kill two birds with one stone.

Via indirect asset participation funds can be provided for small and medium-sized firms.

With the same intention the Bundestag will also be adopting a law on holding companies after the summer recess, although the companies in question must then carry on business as joint stock companies (AG).

In order to make asset formation via participation in the productive capital of one's own firm a more enticing proposition to workers the government has come up with an additional tax incentive.

Anyone who receives share certificates, either free-of-charge or at a cheap rate, from the company in which he is employed has in future a tax-free wage allowance of DM500 each year.

Up to now, the wage tax allowance in accordance with income tax laws was DM300 a year.

Workers willing to save their money in line with this scheme stand to gain a pretty pfennig — at least according to the Labour Ministry's figures.

An employee who takes advantage of the DM936 law, for example, can receive a maximum of DM560 a year.

If he receives optimal financial support in this way for six years the capital he invests (DM7,324) can almost be doubled to DM14,135 assuming an interest rate of six per cent.

It is doubtful whether this will be incentive enough.

Bonn already raised the premiums for "productive saving" in its first Assets Participation Act.

The corresponding figure was increased from DM624 to DM936.

Most workers, however, prefer to accumulate assets in the form of house-buying, life assurance or a savings book.

The Labour Ministry feels that the fact that there are 20 collective bargaining agreements which take advantage of the asset-forming benefits of the DM936 ruling is an "initial success".

Roughly 400,000 took advantage of the offer.

Labour Minister Blüm, however, ignores the fact that many of these workers opted for the maximum savings figure of DM936 but preferred not to invest the money in productive capital.

The second Assets Participation Act is also unlikely to produce a nation of worker-cum-capitalists.

Even the government shares this opinion.

The new Act is only expected to lead to approximately DM70m in lost tax revenue.

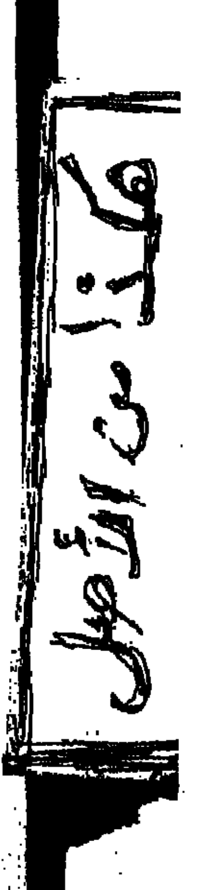
As expected the German Trade Unions Federation is sceptical.

Its priorities are clearly for the safeguarding of real income levels and a shorter working week.

Participation in asset-forming schemes will not be a key item on the agenda of collective bargaining negotiations.

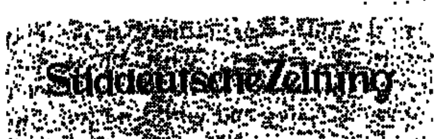
Ludwig Siegele

(Frankfurter Rundschau, 7 August 1986)



■ FINANCE

Another row over who is to play engine driver



Almost a decade ago as the world reeled from the shock or rising oil prices; President Carter put pressure on Bonn to pump up the German economy.

He wanted Germany, together with the USA and Japan, to haul international trade out of recession.

The term "locomotive" was in vogue, and Carter's pressure for Germany to play the role of locomotive caused a quarrel between Bonn and Washington.

Once again Bonn and Washington are quarrelling about the "locomotive." US Treasury Secretary James Baker and Federal Reserve Board chairman Paul Volcker say America alone cannot be the guarantor for the growth of international demand.

The classical reply in this country has remained the same. Helmut Schmidt took Carter's compliments about West Germany being "an economic giant" as only mocking comment on the virtues of economy and fighting inflation.

Schmidt pointed out that the West German "locomotive" was too weak to take on the leading role that Carter wanted it to have.

There has hardly been any change, except today the words used have altered. Finance Minister Gerhard Stoltenberg was quick to retort that no financial move would be made to stimulate demand.

The Americans, he said, should look to the trouble in their own backyard and do something about the American budget deficit that is running at hundreds of billions of dollars.

American warnings were based on false premises. Three per cent more growth in West Germany would at the most increase American exports by a billion dollars.

Carter wrote in his memoirs how hurt he had been by the Teutonic tone of Chancellor Schmidt. But Schmidt had been certainly right.

In the second half of the 1970s leaders were faced with a bewildering dilemma, here further drops in international economic growth, there important West German trading partners reporting two-digit inflation rates.

West Germany did not apply economic pump priming that would not only have hitched the country to international growth but would have laid it open to importing inflation from abroad.

The question is, then, whether Schmidt's answer is still valid today. What is certain is that the West Germans cannot solve the Americans' economic problems.

According to latest estimates by the year's end the Americans will have amassed a balance of payments deficit of $132 billion. The West Germans, on the other hand, will be able to take satisfaction from a surplus of $31 billion and the Japanese of $77 billion.

Doubling American exports to this country to about $15 billion, would only marginally do anything for the American deficit.

Does the responsibility lie solely on American shoulders then? Unfortunately the matter is not as simple as that.

Three points are to be made:

First: we are not in an international inflationary but deflationary cycle, with stagnating prices and weakening growth rates.

It is also true that in the first quarter of 1986 West Germany and Japan recorded a real drop in gross national product and in both countries prices for products have fallen (in Japan, in fact, as much as ten per cent compared with last year).

Furthermore the unemployment figure has not budged — on the contrary.

In such a situation using economic measures to revive demand in the private sector would be playing irresponsibly with inflationary fire.

Second: high balance of payments surpluses are not necessarily evidence of economic virtue. They show rather that a country has voluntarily turned away from an increase in living standards, so that there are more exports than imports.

If small countries seem to pursue their mercantilist self-interests that's their business. But if giants such as Japan and West Germany hoard their surpluses then sooner or later the serious economic imbalance created will boomerang on them.

Japan and the Federal Republic are, for better or for worse, export supermarkets linked to an international trading system. The money that they shovel in today will not be available to their customers tomorrow.

Third: for years America has been living beyond its means, but the other side of the coin implies that the American deficit can help speed up an economy, that was threatening to fall into a depression at the beginnings of the 1980s.

Two points emerge from this: American can no longer live off credit and Tokyo and Bonn, in their own interests, must shoulder their share of responsibility, for they too are concerned about an increase in international demand.

It cannot be politically wise to wallow in surpluses. Despite the rapid fall in the dollar there are still protectionist pressures in America.

Stoltenberg would be almost going against German interests if he stressed domestic and import growth.

No-one is going to gain anything if the dollar falls further and in addition American trade is reduced — certainly not the Germans.

Josef Joffe

(Süddeutsche Zeitung, Munich, 7 August 1986)

Why Europe and America have buried the hatchet (for a while)

Peace has broken out in the trade war between the US and the European Community. But it would be more accurate to describe it as a ceasefire.

Next month, another round of talks under the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (Gatt) opens in Uruguay and both sides want to appear with a clean slate.

Both want to be seen as champions against increasing demands for trade protectionism. This will expose the Japanese and other protectionist sinners. So the hatchet has been buried.

The Gatt round is aimed at ensuring free world trade for years to come.

The transatlantic compromise roughly involves the following; the Community has accepted the American insistance that exports of European semi-finished steel products should be reduced to 850,000 tons a year.

The US has been given access for oranges, lemons and almonds.

In return the Americans have agreed to improve access to their markets for olive oil, olives, various kinds of cheese and pasta products.

What is more politically important for Europe is that the USA has given up its opposition to various special Community agreements with Mediterranean countries as part of its overall Mediterranean policy. This policy provides for equal treatment for all Mediterranean states including Israel.

The Community sees in this policy a starting-off point for a European contribution towards establishing peace in the Middle East conflict — a plan that is not looked upon entirely with favour by the USA and Israel.

An agreement with the US must be concluded by the end of the year to deal with the commercial consequences of the admission of Spain and Portugal, both members of Nato, to the European Community.

Europe's tough attitude towards the US has paid off. Now it remains to be seen how the Gatt round turns out. Gatt has lost much of its authority because it is being flouted by agreements for voluntary export restrain, helped by currency manipulation.

The second question will be whether and to what extent Gatt partners, and that means all of them, are prepared to stick to new trading policy agreements.

Experiences with world trade leader America have not been good. President Reagan solemnly made his anti-protectionist declaration at the world economic summit and then, under pressure from the American lobby, imposed fresh restrictions on European and Japanese imports.

A new quarrel between European and the USA is already in the pipeline. It concerns securing and regaining agricultural produce market shares.

It is feared that enormous subsidy competition might develop for which taxpayers will have to foot the bill, if the Gatt negotiations fail to find a viable solution.

Until now it has been a utopian hope that production would be cutback to ensure market stability, both in the US as well as in the Community.

The Community has proposed a sharing of markets in view of the enormous agricultural produce surpluses the two have, both of them being major producers of agricultural products, but the Americans have rejected this idea.

The Green Lobby in Europe and in America is so strong that it can push its respective governments not only to protectionism but also to aggressive export subsidy policies.

The agriculture sector poses a perpetual threat to free world trade.

Hans Wimmer

(Mannheimer Morgen, 12 August 1986)

Domestic revival makes boffins look a bit better

DIE WELT

For a while, it looked as if economic forecasts were about to be knocked for six. Now, it looks as if they will be on target after all.

There has been an upturn and there are signs that the the driving force is beginning to come from domestic demand rather than exports.

Orders in the manufacturing industries increased 0.5 per cent in May/June compared with March/April.

Domestic orders booked increased two per cent. Export orders must have fallen by the same percentage.

The picture is much the same when a comparison is made with 1985. Orders booked in May/June are up 0.5 per cent on the 1985 May/June figure.

Domestic orders then rose by 3.5 per cent, but export orders fell by five per cent.

It would by misleading to deduce from these figures that West Germany's exports were tailing off. There are no signs of a loss of competitivity despite the weak American dollar.

The depreciation in the dollar will eventually influence exports — the deutschmark has risen 50 per cent in value against the dollar since the spring of 1985.

This will not only affect deliveries to the USA, where German exports have increased from 6.1 per cent of the total in 1980 to 10.3 per cent last year, but competition in other markets will be more intense.

The dynamism in world trade has been reduced because of weaknesses in the East Bloc, reduced imports by the Opec countries and the indebtedness of other developing countries.

The market outlook in Europe on the other hand seems more favourable, and two-thirds of German export trade is done in Europe.

In the first five months of this year exports increased 0.4 per cent over the volume for the first five months of 1985. Over the year an increase of between two to three per cent is expected.

But in considering these figures the marked increase in exports over the past few years and the levels achieved should be taken into consideration.

Predictions that the trade balance surplus will increase from DM73 billion in 1985 to more than DM100 billion this year are based primarily on the sharp decline in import prices, not only because of exchange rates but also the price of oil.

In real terms imports increased six per cent in the January-May period this year. In base-period price terms the export surplus has dropped.

Unfortunately the German credit balance, calculated in dollars, climbed faster than in deutschmarks, and this fans the flames of international pressure on German economic management, so that the economy has to do more.

This neglects to take into consideration the fact that the domestic economy has for some time staged a recovery.

Since real incomes have increased about five per cent, as a result of price stability, private consumption, that rose

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■ AGRICULTURE

Biotechnology waits at the crossroads: will it save Europe's bacon?



Visions of putting bioalcohol into European Community motorists' tanks (and cutting the cost of farm surpluses into the bargain) had agricultural policymakers in Bonn and Brussels in raptures a few weeks ago.

They are now being brought back down to earth with a vengeance. No-one would now be foolhardy enough to suggest converting surplus foodgrain into motor fuel, both subsidised to the hilt, as the solution to Common Market farm surpluses.

That isn't to say the search for market opportunities and new uses for farm produce in industry need be to no avail. There is nothing new about non-food crops being grown on a large part of farm acreage.

A century ago, for instance, flax was grown on over 220,000 hectares of farmland in the German Reich. It was either processed to linen or pressed into linseed oil.

Ropes and insulating material were made of hemp. Animal and vegetable fats were converted into soap, lubricants, ointments and dyestuffs.

This farm produce as an industrial raw material was not replaced by synthetic products based on oil or coal until after the Second World War.

The trend has since been reversed. Natural products are back in demand, and the hectic pace of biotechnology would seem to indicate that natural products may have an even more important part to play in industry.

Huge consumption

In principle all oil-based chemicals can be processed from farm produce. The chemical industry already uses enormous amounts of natural fats, starch and sugar.

Three million tonnes of animal and vegetable oils a year are already put to industrial use: as lubricants, in cosmetics, in patent drugs, as wood or metal paint or varnish, as dyestuffs and as a detergent base.

Natural fats are likely to further boost their share of the market in all these instances.

The European market for industrial starch is similarly substantial. About 2.3 million tonnes of starch a year is processed to foodstuffs in the European Community, but industrial demand accounts for a further 1.7 million tonnes.

Oddly enough most of this starch is made not of wheat, in which the Common Market is swimming, but of maize. It is cornflour, and potato and wheat starch play a fairly minor role.

Yet this maize is imported, as is most of the vegetable fat used for industrial purposes.

Despite being largely self-supporting in nearly all agricultural sectors and keeping enormous farm surpluses in silos the European Community continues to be the world's leading importer of agricultural and forest products.

It imports over 20 million tonnes of animal fodder a year, over four million tonnes of vegetable oil and 120 million cubic metres of timber.

They are joined by over 80 million tonnes of crude oil, and much, if not all, of these imports could be substituted by European farm produce.

It could, that is, be substituted if only European farmers could be persuaded *to stop growing surplus crops and start* growing crops that are either scarce in Europe or likely to emerge as new markets in the years ahead.

Biotechnology, poised at the juncture of agriculture and industry, has a key role to play in developing new uses for farm produce and new markets for European farmers.

It is devising new processes of low-cost production and use of farm produce, breeding new plants better suited for industrial use or capable, once they have adjusted to European climates, of standing substitute for imported products.

The "green revolution" has transformed farming all over the world over the past two decades. Pundits now forecast another profound change they hail as the agro-industrial revolution.

By 1990 the United States will use 35 million tonnes of maize a year as a raw material for chemicals, American scientists claim.

There can be no doubt that the United States is in the best position to compete for the new markets for farm produce. It has already embarked on the agro-industrial revolution.

The European Community is in a sound position too, of course. Its powerful chemical industry is more efficient than its counterparts in either America or Japan and has shown itself to be keen on innovation in the biosector.

Yet a fundamental problem besetting the industrial use of European farm produce is that its price is higher than world market prices.

Brussels has now taken the first step to boost the competitive position of biotechnology in the European Community.

The new Common Market arrangement for sugar and starch will enable industry to buy domestic raw materials virtually at world market rates.

The virtually identical starting point is all the more important for the range of industrial uses already having proved wide and likely to continue to expand.

European Community officials in Brussels expect industrial consumption of starch refined from wheat, potatoes, sugar beet and maize to double by the turn of the century.

Roughly half this industrial starch is used in papermaking.

The second-largest industrial customer for starch refined from European farm produce is the chemical and pharmaceutical industry.

Starch is needed as a filler to make up tablets, only 10 per cent consisting of active ingredients. Starch is needed to manufacture penicillin and enzymes by all conventional synthetic processes.

The largest increase in starch consumption is expected to result from the manufacture of environmentally sound plastics.

Making PVC and polyethylene with an admixture of natural fillers will reduce the amount of synthetic material used and present fewer environmental problems.

Polyethylene foil used to protect farm plants has at present to be removed from the field after use and burnt.

If it is manufactured as a hybrid, with an admixture of natural starch, it will be biodegradable and less expensive than PVC as a pure man-made fibre.

Textiles are also more durable and more elastic after treatment with all-purpose starch.

Products such as amino acids and vitamins, which can also be manufactured from agricultural raw materials, may be less important in terms of quantity but they are more expensive and are higher-grade industrial products.

With a market value of over DM6,000 a tonne, they are products the European chemical industry can be expected to concentrate on, using sugar and starch as raw materials.

In mass-produced chemicals based on crude oil the Middle East countries are setting up chemical industries of their own and should soon be setting their sights at the European market.

European farmers stand to gain an even smaller foothold in a number of almost exotic peripheral sectors such as growing medicinal herbs for the pharmaceutical industry and growing flax (it grows best in France and Flanders).

Flax fibre products are a substitute for asbestos, which is banned as carcinogenic in many countries, so flax fibre production, currently totalling about 53,000 tonnes, could well be boosted to 300,000 tonnes.

Brussels agricultural experts feel cotton could flourish in Greece and southern Italy.

In the long term all these ideas could benefit the common agricultural market, always assuming they made sound economic sense and could be put into practice.

They could expand markets, improve sales prospects and diversify farm production.

But given stagnation in food consumption and growth in world output, European industry alone will probably not be able to rid the Community of the burden of farm surpluses.

Import substitution is sure to create foreign trade problems. So self-sufficiency alone is not the solution to the European Community's problems.

Biotechnology may well be left with nothing but the option of literally grasping at a straw, yet even that is unlikely to save Europe's bacon, *to mix* metaphors.

Use for *straw*

A team of Danish experts has looked into how part of the timber and paper products imported from Scandinavia could be replaced by European (i.e. Common Market) products.

Reafforestation of unused farmland would be one part of the approach, the use of straw, often a harvest waste product that is burned *in the fields*, the other.

Straw, a by-product of the wheat, barley and rye harvests, can readily be used in papermaking.

The Danes underscored their optimistic point by printing their report to the European Commission on paper consisting of 40 per cent straw and 3.3 per cent European starch.

Thomas Gack

(Stuttgarter Nachrichten, 1 August 1986)

Continued from page 7

1.7 per cent last year, can increase 4.5 per cent this.

Surveys show that capital goods investment has increased markedly. Although windfall profits from business with America are sinking, profits have improved.

The building industry has not done so well, but it is in a better position than last year.

The basic assumption is that the economic situation has improved so there are more job-seekers than there were last year. If it were not for this the unemployment statistics would look better than they do.

At all events unemployment is on the decline, but not as fast as the increase in the number of those in jobs.

Because of the weakened economic position in the first quarter of this year forecasts of economic growth for the year were corrected downwards from 3.5 per cent to 2.5 per cent.

If forecasts were not made for a calendar year but, say, from now over the next 12 months this correction would not be necessary. The economic situation has again achieved the growth level predicted.

Hans-Jürgen Mahnke

(Die Welt, Bonn, 9 August 1986)

■ THE ENVIRONMENT

Tree deaths caused by soil disease, not aerial pollution, claims scientist



A Freiburg University teacher, Hans Mohr, has come up with a new theory on *Waldsterben*, the death of Germany's forests.

Research scientist Mohr, 56, a biologist, has reactivated the debate on the link (still not conclusively established) between atmospheric pollution and plant damage.

In an interim report published in the specialist journal *Biologie in unserer Zeit* he modestly reviews, in the role of what he calls a compiler and integrator, the latest research findings by his fellow-biologists.

"All we have done," he says, "is to carry out strict physiological work in the laboratory."

The result is striking because Mohr succeeds better than many of his fellow-scientists in reconciling the most varied classic hypotheses.

His starting-point is mycorhiza, a symbiosis of tree roots and certain soil fungus.

Mycorhiza is defined as a fungal mycelium investing or penetrating the underground parts of a higher plant and supplying it with material from humus instead of root-hairs.

In other words, the fungus absorbs water and nutrient from the soil instead of the roots, drawing on the tree's supply of soluble hydrocarbons and vitamins in return.

If the fungus is damaged the tree will show signs of impeded growth and root blight.

Mohr says mycorhiza can protect the tree from a wide range of harmful influences, all of which have been at one time or another blamed for the tree death epidemic.

It filters out heavy metals and acts as a buffer between the tree and acidification of the soil. It also keeps toxic concentrations of aluminium ions at bay.

It even shields the tree from the depredations of pathogenic fungi.

Yet mycorhiza can readily be upset by environmental influences, he says, trouble not being mainly caused by natural enemies or chemical poisons.

The difficulty seems to be created by the very substances plants as a rule have a shortage of: nitrogen.

Oddly enough, there is a parallel here with the overfertilisation of waterways by chemicals.

Temporarily, Mohr says, vegetation takes kindly to an overdose of nitrogen, which is largely responsible for the "green revolution" all over the world.

But "there are many signs that mycorhiza is eventually damaged by a surfeit of organic nitrogen, especially older trees whose root systems are less flexible in their response to external influence."

Trees are supplied with too little water and nutrient as a result, accompanied by mechanical instability and greater sensitivity to wind, frost and parasites.

Mohr will, however, hear nothing of damage to leaves and needles being due to the direct above-ground effect of aggressive atmospheric toxins.

He feels this can be ruled out because the regenerative shoots of fir trees are perfectly healthy even when the tree has suffered serious damage.

Tree damage must in contrast be seen as "symptomatic of a disease emanating from the soil and affecting the entire organism."

If this complaint is attributed to damage to mycorhiza and this damage to a surplus of nitrogen, there is no difficulty whatever in proving the existence of this surplus.

Mohr quotes research findings by F. H. Meyer of Hanover that atmospheric nitrogen has increased by 50 per cent over the past 20 years.

This increase is due mainly to vehicle exhaust, static emission, gas, oil and coal-fired central heating and ammonia emission by farmers and refuse disposal facilities.

There is ample evidence of a nitrogen surplus in the forests. Trees no longer respond positively to additional doses of nitrogen and vegetation undergoes changes in a "nitrogen forest."

Blackberries, elderberries, nettles, hemp agrimony and other sure signs of nitrogen in plenty spread like wildfire. Woodland is quickly overgrown by grass. Algae and lichen grow vigorously.

Wood plants that do not naturally go in for mycorhiza, or symbiosis with fungus, go from strength to strength.

Mohr's hypothesis would seem to account for tree deaths particularly in regions where the air is clean and areas remote from industrial and power station locations where static emission of sulphur dioxide is high.

These clean-air regions he has in mind, such as the Erzgebirge in Germany, Czechoslovakia, Poland and parts of Bavaria bordering on Czechoslovakia, suffer from tree disease partly as a result of high SO_2 levels, he says.

Yet in these areas there is no clear link between tree damage and the SO_2 count.

Besides, sulphur dioxide pollution has tended to decline in the Federal Republic since 1970, whereas tree deaths did not clearly start until 1978 and have since steadily gained momentum.

Comparative statistics show, he says, the nitrogen balance in Central Europe to be appalling.

In North American and Scandinavian clean air regions nitrogen precipitation is estimated at less than one kilogram per hectare.

In Holland the figure is 60, in the Black Forest 40 kilograms per hectare per year, of which the forests are capable of handling five kilograms at most.

Dankwart Guratzsch

(Die Welt, Bonn, 5 August 1986)

■ EXHIBITIONS

High-flying baron gets both carnations and a tit-for-tat deal with Russians

Baron Hans Heinrich Thyssen-Bornemisza is one of the richest men in the world. He is a significant art collector with over 1,500 pictures. His collection is so significant that the Hermitage museum in Leningrad is putting them on exhibition. The arrangement is part of an exchange: the baron's ornate villa, Villa Favorita, on Lake Lugano is holding an exhibition of Russian art treasures on loan from the Hermitage.

The dining room and adjacent salons of the magnificent 18th-century Villa Favorita on Lake Lugano, owned by Baron Hans Heinrich Thyssen-Bornemisza, have been cleared to make way for a display of gold, silver and jewels.

The collection, which once belonged to the tsars and other aristocrats, is on loan from the Hermitage in Leningrad.

The Baron pointed out one item, an altar piece, which he said, had been found blackened and dirty, forgotten in a dark corner of a storeroom in the Hermitage. The Hermitage was originally an annexe to the Winter Palace.

The cleaned-up altar piece (tabernacle) shows Christ floating in gold and silver and gazing towards a blue heaven.

The one-metre tall baroque altar piece is a masterpiece made in Augsburg. It is one of the 150 gold and silver treasures from the Hermitage on display in the villa.

Baron Thyssen has just returned from the opening in Leningrad of an exhibition of equivalent treasures from his own collection.

The 64-year-old Baron who is regarded as an ambassador for the arts, said of his latest Russian adventure: "It was very exciting."

We were sitting in the salon of his ochre-coloured villa surrounded by paintings by Emil Nolde, Max Beckmann and Gustav Courbet. They competed with the view of the emerald-green mountains and the blue of Lake Lugano.

After lunch on the terrace he poured himself a small whisky with plenty of water. On that beautiful summer day, wearing a white made-to-measure shirt with the initials H.T.B., he told of his winter expedition.

In January he flew from St Moritz to Moscow in his own private jet. Since air traffic over the Soviet Union is controlled via Russian, a Soviet pilot was sent to St Moritz to fly his plane.

He was greeted officially and presented with official carnations.

Thyssen-Bornemisza is a German-Hungarian millionaire with a Swiss passport. His main home is in Britain. He is very popular in Russia.

The British art expert Anna Somres-Cocks, who accompanied the Baron along with his curator Simon de Pury, said: "The Russians hate dealing with unknown institutions. But the Baron is a man with influence and he knows his way about. Furthermore he can drink vodka like a real man."

After the British Queen he is the second largest private art collector in the world. The Russians knew about him before he reached Moscow.

One evening at a dinner in Cologne the Russian ambassador at the time, Vladimir Semionev, asked him: "Why do you put on such wonderful exhibitions in America and not in Russia as well?"

In 1983 he gave his reply by putting on an exhibition of 40 of his Old Masters that toured Leningrad, Moscow and Kiev, attracting a million visitors.

But the generous Baron was not left empty-handed. The Russians replied *with a picture for picture exhibition of* Impressionists.

Instead of the usual 25,000 art fans who call at the Baron's villa between Easter and October, 250,000 made their way to see the Impressionist paintings from Russia in Villa Favorita, a paradise hemmed in by cyprus trees.

His inheritance from steel and the international organisation he has built up himself have made Thyssen one of the richest men in the world.

The business is now mainly in the hands of his eldest son Georg Heinrich. He concentrates most of his energies and his obvious appetite for living on art.

He buys with gusto. Currently he owns about 1,500 pictures. Because he is short of wall space, but also because he enjoys making a fine gesture, he loans his pictures out all over the world.

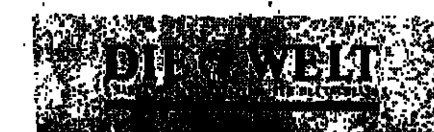
His East-West flirtation was continued last year with an exchange of pictures with Hungary. A further exhibition was planned for 1986, an exchange of *Impressionist paintings from Russia for* some of his Old Masters.

In his calm, Austrian accent he said: "After the Geneva summit conference the Americans asked for a similar exhibition. So we postponed that exhibition exchange until next year. Next time the pictures will be a degree better than in 1983."

The Baron said: "I find these Russian expeditions fascinating." He stood up and re-filled his glass.

"It is a marvellous opportunity to get to know a society that is quite different. It is very much to do with people. I have met some very cultivated people there, who are proud of their traditions," he said.

His curiosity and his highly developed sense of humour induces him to poke a little gentle fun at the traps in the Russian system.



He has difficulty finding an official with whom he can negotiate. The present contract, for instance, was concluded with the former Minister for Cultural Affairs, Piotr Demichev, but he has now been promoted to vice-president of the Soviet Union.

"Last week there was no mention of his successor. That makes you just a little nervous," he said laughing.

The Russians proposed that Novosibirsk should be included along with Moscow and Leningrad in the itinerary for the Thyssen exhibition next year. But because the Baron wanted to fly there in his private jet the Russians suddenly discovered that there was no museum in Novosibirsk.

But he calmly predicted that he would go there.

The Baron has only had a few friendly exchanges with Russian leader Mikhail Gorbachev. Baron Thyssen sent him a catalogue of his jewels that are currently on show in the Hermitage. Gorbachev sent his thanks via two ambassadors.

In a subtle way the Baron took part in the Geneva summit conference. At President Reagan's request he loaned a picture of the American coastline to go over the fireplace in the salon in Geneva. "But only for three hours, I said, otherwise the picture will suffer. I was precise about that. I got Reagan and Gorbachev to stand under this picture," Thyssen said.

Of the people who turned up for the opening of his current exhibition in Leningrad he commented that it was just like a gathering of people in the American Mid-West.

He cut the red ribbon to declare the exhibition open and talked of Chernobyl. "The Russian television cameras panned away from me, although I was speaking about Russia in friendly terms," he said.

"I regret that this accident happened, but I also regret that the West used this misfortune for anti-Soviet propaganda." There is no doubt that the Baron enjoys peppering the aesthetics of art *with a pinch of his political views.* He also likes parties so long as they are in good taste.

When East Bloc ambassadors travelled to Lugano for the opening of the exhibition the Ukrainians danced and gipsies played. There was vodka to drink and the dinner ended with Ice Cream Alaska, ice cream flambé surrounded by meringue.

He then flew over his villa not only the Swiss flag but the Hammer and Sickle.

For reasons of space visitors to the Hermitage can only see about 20 per cent of the curious and costly artworks collected by the tsars and which are now so effectively displayed in the darkened private rooms of the Villa Favorita.

It is fortunate that they were never cleaned. They are in pristine condition, every engraving as sharp as if it were executed yesterday.

The exhibition includes artistic Russian enamel pendants and large splendid plates from Augsburg. There is an English silver cup made from three horses' heads joined together and a French silver bowl with a wave round its rim, pure *Jugendstil* dating from 1731.

An expensive clasp gleams hidden in a crystal vase shaped like a flowering branch. A minute clock is enclosed by a tulip flower.

Baron Thyssen looked at a particularly Russian work of art, an artistically worked steel object from Tula, with particular warmth. He said: "I would like to have a piece like that myself."

But he thinks that his collection of costly renaissance jewellery in silver and pieces of Fabergé is equal to the wonders the tsars collected.

He was able to match a tobacco jar belonging to Frederick the Great that had a dusting of diamonds round the rim with an equally costly tobacco jar belonging to the Prussian King.

Baron Thyssen-Bornemisza . . . taste for vodka. (Photo: dpa)

Thyssen paid for the catalogue and the exhibition insurance himself. When the Russians sent a bill for $270,000 for insurance for their exhibition he telexed back: "In 1983 the insurance for my Old Masters was $70,000."

Back came the reply: "$70,000 is also acceptable." Thyssen commented that in this way a friendly agreement could be arrived at in art dealings today.

Thyssen would very much like to mount an exhibition of Russian avant-garde painting of around 1900 for the Russian public.

He said: "This art is frowned upon in Russia and pushed aside. I had a verbal agreement from Andropov, but under Gorbachev it has been postponed. He needs to have the reins of government firmly in his hands before he does anything."

We went from the terrace to the Museum, which is also ocre-coloured. On Mondays it is closed to the public. Thyssen displays here permanently 300 of his Old Masters.

He is not only concerned with East-West art relations. His fifth wife is Spanish and he has been able to attract to Lugano Goya pictures in private collections to join the Goya paintings from the Hermitage.

He said that he had a lot of trouble assembling this exhibition and that a few psychological ploys had to be used.

Collectors such as the Duchess of Alba, a friend, refused [illegible] Goya pictures. The family exercised its veto.

But in the end he was able to get 15 Goya pictures for display in the Villa Favorita, a quarter of the Spanish artist's works that are in private hands.

The exhibition includes portraits of the graceful but unfortunate Duchess of Chinchon, Goya's moving self-portrait in his studio, children scenes, fantasies of witches to rare paintings of saints.

The Baron, a handsome man, ruminates over the ugly King Charles III of Spain (1716-1788). He said: "You had to be ugly and important. That was the the spirit of the times that pervaded the aristocracy. When you are beautiful it is easy to conquer the world. But when you are ugly, but nevertheless powerful, then a special kind of effort is needed."

Hans Heinrich Thyssen-Bornemisza left me alone with the King. His jet was ready. It was scheduled to fly to Spain.

Heidi Bürklin
(Die Welt, Bonn, 15 July 1986)

■ ANTHROPOLOGY

Through the jaguar's mouth and onwards to Huitzilopochtli

DIE ZEIT

The Olmecs, the oldest known Mexican highland people, descended to their cult-caverns in the bowels of the earth via an imitation of a jaguar's wide open mouth.

The colossal rock sculpture that used to adorn the entrance to their cave marks the start of a journey through past civilisations of Central America.

The art treasures stout Cortez and his men found when they conquered Mexico can currently be admired in the Roemer-Pelizaeus Museum in Hildesheim.

That is to say, exhibits consist of what escaped the conquistadores' covetous eyes or survived because European *princes were keen collectors of items from the New World.*

Curator Arne Eggebrecht of the Hildesheim museum has definitely come up with yet another of his justly renowned exhibitions art-lovers will not want to miss.

Exhibits normally on show in museums in different countries and continents can here be seen face to face and reinterpreted.

Items from 33 museums range from the pre-Aztec period from about the second millenium BC to the flowering of Mexican civilisation in the 16th century AD.

German visitors will be particularly interested in the spectacular Templo Mayor finds.

The Great Temple, dedicated to the twofold deity Tlaloc the rain god and Huitzilopochtli the god of war, was in the heart of the Aztec city of Tenochtitlan, now Mexico City, which contemporaries of Cortez compared with Constantinople and Rome.

In 1976 electricity board workers discovered by chance a gigantic block of stone that was identified as part of the temple, which the Spaniards had destroyed.

Storerooms full of statues of the gods and cult equipment (preciously adorned sacrificial knives, jewellery, masks and ceramics) were unearthed.

One of the finest Templo Mayor finds is a stone model of a gigantic snail. Its shell is nearly one metre long and lined on a pattern that seems to run through the coarse stone in soft waves gives expression to both the soft interior and the hard shell.

Traces of blue paint indicate that the snail was dedicated to the rain god Tlaloc, one of the oldest and most important Aztec deities, whose favour was essential for a good harvest.

The snail was probably a fertility symbol. Snailshell horns were sounded in ritual ceremonies.

Stone models of ball game equipment can also be admired in Hildesheim. It was a game of life or death that fired the conquistadores' flights of bloodthirsty fancy and prompted them to launch punitive expeditions against the barbarous Aztecs.

The game was played with a heavy rubber ball that could only be touched with the torso, so players wore thick cotton or leather padding.

Many details of dating and the use to which objects were put have yet to be settled, but the stone yokes and palmas are felt to have been laid in the graves of ball game players who were sacrificed.

The ball game is based on the idea that the Sun loses strength as it passes through the land of the dead by night and needs to be strengthened with a human blood sacrifice. When the world began, the gods sacrificed themselves. Thereafter it was for mankind to ensure the world's survival. Death was seen by the Aztecs, in both religious and political terms, as a life-preserving force. To die a sacrificial death, or to die in battle or in childbirth, was felt to be honourable. Another highlight of the Hildesheim exhibition is the gold jewellery, and not just because of its superb craftsmanship; so little Aztec jewellery has survived. Cortez melted down the gold and silver he plundered to ship it to Europe as bullion.

Container with mask of the Aztec rain god Tlaloc. Painted ceramic. 17th century AD. (Photos: Catalogue)

So gold mouthpieces, shaped like eagle's heads and worn through the lower lip, are rare and valuable items owned by only a handful of museums.

The same goes for necklaces in a delicate turtle design and shell-shaped earrings. The historic vista presented ranges from the Ancient Mexico of the Olmecs, whose influence recurs in later eras, to the flowering of the Aztec empire. Visitors to the Hildesheim exhibition can readily make friends with these lost civilisations as they walk their way round the millenia. An exhibition at the Übersee-Museum in Bremen shows how very much alive the dead and the death cult are to this day in Mexico. Modern Mexican customs can be seen to date back to the death festivities of the Aztecs, illustrated by a handful of old exhibits, such as a wooden mosaic-lined statue of Tlaloc, rain god and lord of the third kingdom of the dead.

Paired figurines, ceramic in style of Ranchito de las Animas. 400 - 700 AD.

There is an unbroken tradition of death rituals. Earthenware dogs painted yellow used to be customary grave ornaments. Today yellow tagetis help the dead to find their way home to the family once a year.

Nothing the dear departed might need was to be missing. Model altars and death chambers have been made up in Bremen to convey an idea of what they must have been like, with the favourite food of the dead, gifts and a host of yellow flowers.

It comes as a surprise to find that confectioners' displays can feature skulls made of icing sugar or gaily-painted papier-mâché skeletons.

There are even competitions held to see who has designed the most imaginative skeleton.

Ofrendas, or funeral rites, have assumed a political aspect to go with the folklore since last year's earthquakes.

The dead point an accusing finger at the negligence of the authorities.

A "protest altar" is also on show in Bremen, decorated with very little to eat and clearly symbolising disaster.

The dead have resumed their role of acting on behalf of the living, much as the Aztecs of old celebrated death as the prerequisite for fresh life.

Cornelia Plattner
(Die Zeit, Hamburg, 1 August 1986)

■ HEALTH

Food and drink regulations need to be tightened up, warns researcher

Süddeutsche Zeitung

German food and drink regulations need to be tightened up, says Berlin foodstuffs expert Hermann Hummel-Liljegren.

Professor Hummel-Liljegren wants 10 new research units to check radiation in food and drink so a nation-wide radiation chart can be compiled.

He also refers to a possible conflict of interest where some factory inspectors also are used as consultants by those factories they are meant to inspect.

There has been a succession of adulteration scandals over the past couple of years, and the public suspects that Germany's allegedly strict regulations are not enforced as strictly as they should be.

Consumers find it hard to believe that inspectors checked adulterated wines thoroughly for glycol and methanol. They doubt whether milk and vegetables are adequately checked for radioactivity.

The major scandals have triggered waves of outrage; lesser scandals have become commonplace.

Nowadays no-one is up in arms on learning that over 50 per cent of deep-frozen chickens are full of salmonella bacteria, a common cause of food poisoning, or that allergens are permitted foodstuff additives.

The legal penalties for adulteration don't seem to upset professional adulterators. Does the combination of the law, enforcement agencies and the courts still give enough protection from poison and declining food quality?

"If HPLC analysis had been intensively used, diethylene glycol additive would with some certainty have been identified much earlier," write Günes Barka and Volker Heidger in the foodstuffs chemistry supplement of the specialist journal *GIT*.

Other chemists agree that extract analysis, which is a prescribed wine testing technique, ought to have brought glycol to light earlier — if only a courageous research chemist had taken the trouble to do more than his daily routine.

But state inspection laboratories are already so overworked they can barely cope with routine work. Twenty years ago wine had to undergo eight tests; the number is now about 20.

The number of toxins and impurities chemists might keep their eyes open for increases by the year.

There are 1,500 pesticides on sale in the Federal Republic traces of which might be found in certain foodstuffs.

Veterinary drugs, heavy metals and dyestuffs are further hazards. Besides, as the glycol wine scandal showed, adulterators are growing increasingly refined.

"We must think in terms of the future," says Professor Erich Coduro, head of the *Land* health laboratories in Munich. "There must be no question of us being paralysed by routine."

There are no analysis techniques yet known for many substances — techniques suitable for routine use, that is.

Unless they have the widest possible selection of analysis techniques laboratories are sure to prove no match for growing environmental pollution and sophisticated adulterators.

When *Land* laboratories were inundated with samples of adulterated wine and radioactive vegetables they no longer had enough time to keep up routine checks.

In Bavaria the authorities have already reacted to this workload. After the glycol scandal two new chemists were hired for the Munich department, while after Chernobyl fresh staff were taken on for radioactive analysis.

Must the laboratories await further scandals before being fitted out with more staff and equipment that could arguably nip future scandals in the bud?

Professor Hummel-Liljegren called, in the wake of Chernobyl, for the establishment of 10 new radiation research institutes as units of the food and drink inspection service.

His aim was not just to ensure a better starting-point in the event of a further fallout catastrophe; he also wanted to compile radiation charts for the entire country.

"If consumers know exactly what the radiation level is in a given area," the Berlin consumer protection expert says, "and if the source of foodstuffs is specified exactly on the package, then pregnant and nursing mothers can switch to less problematic sources."

But new toxin analysis techniques and superbly equipped laboratories are not enough if the law fails to lay down binding danger levels for certain substances that cause contamination.

For PCB, or polychlorinated biphenyl, a harmful substance used as a coolant in transformers or as a softening agent in plastics and paints, there are only recommended levels.

The same is true of heavy metals, and courts are not prepared to accept recommended levels entirely at face value.

Yet Bonn is still sitting pretty on proposed regulations governing agents deemed to cause contamination.

Watchdogs such as the North Rhine-Westphalian Consumer Association say there must also be an end to diluting highly toxic foodstuffs by mixing them with less toxic ones.

Professor Hummel-Liljegren is doubtful whether the new regulations will comply with this demand, and if dilution isn't banned there will, he says, be no pressure to reduce the level of contamination in areas where it is high.

A glance at the foodstuff additives list issued by the Hamburg Consumer Association is enough to see that German food and drink regulations permit the use of additives that are a potential health hazard.

Food and drink labels list additives by code numbers beginning with an E.

The Hamburg booklet lists what the numbers, such as E 102, stand for and state how dangerous the substance may be.

E 102 is a yellow dyestuff, tartrazine. Sensitive people have been known to be allergic to it, up to and including blisters and asthmatic bouts.

This information from the Rowohlt book "What We All Swallow" does not stop manufacturers of custard powder, sweets and lemonade from using tartrazine liberally. It is inexpensive and turns substances a bright and cheerful yellow.

It is one of the most widespread food and drink dyestuffs used in the Federal Republic of Germany. In Norway and Sweden it has been banned.

Since 21 December 1984 German patent medicines containing E 102 have been required to carry a warning on the package.

"This medicine," it reads, "contains the dyestuff tartrazine, which can cause allergic responses among people who are particularly sensitive to it."

Swiss nutritionist Professor Somogyi is caustically critical of the use of tartrazine. There is, he says, no reason why the slightest risk should be run. Tartrazine could readily be replaced by a sound natural substance, beta-carotin.

By consulting the Hamburg booklet consumers can find out what additives food contains, but when they buy wine they are still in the dark.

Wine is not covered by European Community regulations on foodstuff declaration, so labels don't have to list additives such as sulphur dioxide, sorbic acid or copper sulphate.

For food, in contrast, a sulphur count of 50 milligrams per kilo must be specified.

Wine drinkers aren't told that a mere quarter litre of many a *Spätlese* contains the maximum permitted daily dose of sulphur dioxide for humans.

Not even strict legislation rigorously enforced can be sure to guarantee that the system works.

The municipal code of Soest, Westphalia, dating back to the year 1120 simply states that anyone who mixes bad wine with good will forfeit his life.

Such draconian punishment is no longer in fashion, of course. Professor Hummel-Liljegren says the 1974 legislation made life easier for offenders by "decriminalising" adulteration.

Many previously criminal offences have since been scaled down to the level of a parking ticket. Pay your fine and that's that.

A mere fine isn't going to deter offenders. A wine dealer found guilty of relabelled three containers of Italian wine as Moselle wine was fined a derisory DM600, for instance.

A Düsseldorf court fined a sausage manufacturer DM220 for selling sausages with a water content of 12.3 per cent when only five per cent was permitted.

Critics say fines imposed on restaurateurs are often so negligible that hiring a cleaning woman costs more.

In 1982, after the scandal over oestrogen in veal, a commission set up by the DFG scientific research association to look into traces of alien substances in foodstuffs complained that penalties were too lax.

In findings circulated to Federal and *Land* Ministries the commission *said* existing fines and other provisions *must* be used to the full.

The North Rhine-Westphalian Consumer Association *goes even* further, calling for more stringent regulation governing breaches of foodstuffs legislation.

Nutrition consultant Maren Krüger said at a specialist conference: "That is the only way criminal acts and mass fraud can be prevented."

Critics uniformly attribute derisory fines to the lack of competence of the courts that handle cases. Judges and public prosecutors at minor courts are often way out of their depth.

Foodstuffs regulations are extremely complex and not dealt with in detail at university. Busy court officials are unlikely to find time off from their daily routine to find out more on the subject.

There are specialists in the legal and chemical details in larger towns and cities. They don't need to rely on expert testimony; they can make sense of the jargon themselves.

The DFG report recommended concentrating foodstuffs and pharmaceutical knowhow at special courts and authorities, but this advice has gone unheeded in practice.

This is a great pity, especially as specialisation along these lines has been possible in other sectors, such as at family courts.

Courts not being *sufficiently* well informed on the subject seems not to be the sole reason why many offenders get off little short of scot-free.

Professor Hummel-Liljegren refers guardedly to the risk of subjective partiality. What he means is a conflict of interest.

When a factory inspector checks the premises of a leading food manufacturer from 9 to 5 and advises them as a consultant in his spare time his judgement may well be biased, after all.

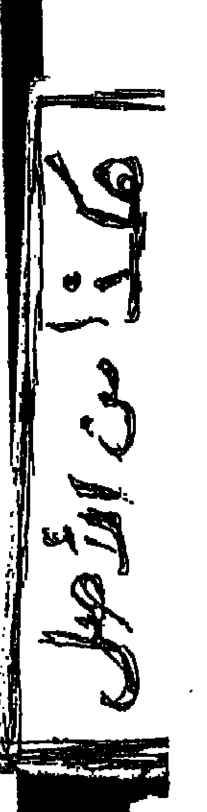
Christine Finkentscher of the Bavarian Consumer Association says 150 people a year ring her to complain of being fobbed off by factory inspectors.

One consumer complained to the authorities about mouldy cheese and fish with mouldy gills sold in a Munich supermarket. Yet despite her complaint there was no improvement for four months.

In the long run only critical consumers can ensure sufficient pressure to prevent breaches of food and drink regulations getting out of hand.

"What we need is the assistance of

Continued on page 13



■ MEDICINE

How lifestyle affects chances of having a heart attack or getting cancer

DEUTSCHES ALLGEMEINES SONNTAGSBLATT

How you live has a direct bearing on your chance of suffering from a heart attack, a stroke or cancer, says Heidelberg psychiatrist Ronald Grossarth-Maticek.

Statistically speaking, self-reliant people who are not prone to neuroses are generally less likely to suffer from such killer complaints.

People who are heavily dependent on a partner, a job, a hobby or an idea are two to five times more likely to suffer from a serious complaint of this kind.

This psychological aspect is said to have an even greater effect on how illnesses develop than classic risks such as smoking, lack of exercise and unhealthy diets.

Grossarth-Maticek, addressing a medical congress in Berlin, based his conclusions on a Heidelberg survey of 1,026 elderly people questioned about how they lived and any illnesses they may have had.

They were interviewed twice, at an interval of 10 years, and found to roughly come in four categories:

Type 1 is heavily dependent on and closely associates his or her well-being with a person or an objective.

Chronic depression and overactivity is how they react to the loss of the beloved person or "object." Type 1 correlates with cancer of the stomach.

Type 2 also bears the hallmark of dependence, but one felt to be entirely negative.

The person or object is to blame for a permanent feeling of dissatisfaction or annoyance, yet Type 2 is unable to break with his or her bugbear.

This type is correlated with heart attacks, strokes and diabetes.

Type 3 vacillates between these two extremes, being both attracted to and repelled by his partner or the object of his interest.

Being unable to incorporate this ambivalence in his everyday life, he tends to be emotionally adrift and vacillating in his feelings.

Type 3 is clearly less prone to serious physical illness but suffers from strikingly chronic fear and aggression toward both himself and others.

Type 4 is described as fairly self-reliant and self-assured, with a balanced relationship with his or her partner, job and friends.

Cancer, heart attacks and strokes virtually never occur to people in this category, statistics show.

The same set of questions produced remarkably identical answers in a village in Yugoslavia. Grossarth-Maticek, now at London University, infers from this that the connection arises independently of cultural background.

He has also established a link between psychotherapy and physical health, here basing his conclusions on a long-term survey of 91 Heidelberg couples.

There were no cases of cancer and only three heart attacks among the couples who underwent therapy, took regular exercise and went in for healthy, balanced diets.

There were 12 cases of cancer and 14 heart attacks in the control group who led "normal" lives and did not undergo therapy.

Gerald Mackenthun

(Deutsches Allgemeines Sonntagsblatt, Hamburg, 3 August 1986)

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mature consumers," says Professor Coduro. They must know a thing or two about the produce they are buying and be prepared to lodge complaints at the point of sale.

Consumers can also influence food quality by their buying habits. If a manufacturer finds sales of food containing harmful dyestuffs tail off he will either have to stop using them or risk losing his share of the market.

But there is no way in which a consumer boycott can spike the guns of professional adulterators like the glycol wine-adulterators as long as they go unnoticed.

"Food inspection can't prevent scandals," Professor Coduro says. "It will remain a wide-meshed net rather than a sheet."

Christine Broll

(Süddeutsche Zeitung, Munich, 2 August 1986)

Biosensors will ease diabetic blood testing

Daily blood sugar tests as carried out by hundreds of thousands of diabetics in the Federal Republic of Germany will soon be a thing of the past, with biosensors replacing blood tests.

Biosensors, devised by Erlangen University department of physiology and cardiology, can measure the blood sugar and tissue oxygen count bloodlessly.

The new device is based on electrode readings of the weak biosignals emitted by capillaries and tissue cells, says Manfred Kessler, who is in charge of the interdisciplinary project.

The sensors are between a few millimetres and one centimetre long and consist mainly of a gold platelet and a membrane set in plastic and linked by cable to a computer.

As soon as a sensor comes into contact with a minute quantity of blood, glucose passes through the membrane and triggers electrochemical reactions from which detailed inferences can be drawn as to life processes in the body cell.

Various forms of sensor have been designed for various uses, such as diabetes treatment, intra-operative diagnosis and intensive care medicine.

(Allgemeine Zeitung, Mainz, 2 August 1986)

Sex and the ill: criticism of lack of privacy



Constant coming and going to and from hospital rooms has been strongly criticised at a Heidelberg training course in sexual medicine.

A Bad Säckingen gynaecologist and psychotherapist, Dr Richter, said it was disgraceful that doctors, nurses or even cleaning staff might enter a hospital room at a moment's notice. Patients had never a minute to themselves.

He said hospital rooms were entered up to 42 times a day by ward staff, leaving patients with no time in which to cater for personal needs.

Yet in sickness as in health the patient remained an individual and a person in need of a private life.

Not all doctors and specialists would agree. One speaker in Heidelberg was shocked to feel that a sick person might lack his partner's nearness.

It isn't even a matter of an opportunity to sleep with each other. Most patients would be happy to be able to be on their own for 10 minutes or half an hour and hold their partner in their arms and maybe cry a little.

Doctors seem not to notice the restrictions imposed on patients until roles are reversed. "I once myself spent four weeks in plaster in a hospital bed," one doctor said, "and I felt as though I was expected to leave my sexuality at the reception's desk on my way in."

Sickness and sexuality is a topic fraught with fear and prejudice, says the *Medical Tribune*.

There is a widespread belief that sex is strictly for the healthy, whereas the sick would do better to forgo intercourse.

Long-term invalids often feel very much alone at home, and not just in hospital, because fear separates them from their partners.

The healthy partner may, for instance, be afraid the sick partner might die in the act, as it were.

The patient in contrast may be worried his or her partner will be unable to come to terms with the results of surgery for, say, breast cancer.

Even healthy women still find it difficult to articulate sexual wishes to their partners. How much more difficult must it be for women suffering from cancer!

They may well be right, says Dr Claus Buddeberg of Zürich University Hospital.

Breast cancer patients are often brushed off bluntly by their husbands or lovers when they venture to suggest that they still have amorous inclinations.

Yet women cancer patients still seem to find it easier to talk about their problems than men, who have difficulty in reconciling themselves with physical changes due to prostate, intestinal or scrotal surgery.

Male patients are extremely shy and restrained in their reactions. They are seldomable to talk about their difficulties.

Specialists say little use is made of the opportunity of psychosocial therapy and discussion facilities.

(Nordwest Zeitung, Oldenburg, 6 August 1986)

■ HORIZONS

Easy riders calm frayed nerves in autobahn jams

Motorway tailbacks during summer holiday weekends are a nightmare to motorists. On one weekend this summer tailbacks on German autobahns totalled 100 kilometres. In situations such as these the tailback counsellor of the ADAC, Germany's Munich-based motoring association, comes into her own, calming nerves and reassuring motorists caught up in motorway delays.

Ulrike Johannsen would have a difficulty miming her weekend job if she were to appear as a guest on Robert Lembke's "What's My Line" quiz on German TV.

She helps relieve pent-up anger when motorists are brought to a stop by tailbacks on a motorway, or in diversions through villages on the Lüneburg Heath.

She tries to quieten fretful children with fruit juice drinks and sweets, amusing them with games and balloons.

She particularly tries to be pleasant so that motorists do not get too worked up at the delays. How do you mime that?

Ulrike, 24, who works with the handicapped during the week, comes from Lüneburg. She is one of the ADAC's crew of 90 who patrol the country's 7,930 kilometres of autobahn on motorcycles at holiday weekends.

They are not ADAC patrolmen; they are motorway tailback counsellors working in Bavaria, Baden-Württemberg and the Rhineland.

Since 13 June they have been joined by motorcycle tailback counsellors in Lower Saxony, of which the Lüneburg area forms part.

Ulrike rides a 1,000cc, 90hp BMW bike that can reach 200kph, or 125mph. On this powerful machine she can weave her way through tailbacks with ease.

As regularly as clockwork there is a tailback on the A7 autobahn from Hamburg to Hanover close to the Allertal service station in peak holiday periods.

An engineer from Düsseldorf asked: "Tailback. Why?" He can read the word "Tailback" displayed on her motorcycle, and if he looks through his rear mirror he can still read it correctly.

Ulrike is able to calm motorists down telling them that the delay is due to a collision and will last about ten minutes.

The man from Düsseldorf gets a motorway map and can see for himself where the next motorway exit is that will get him to the Baltic resort that is his holiday destination.

His wife sitting next to him cannot believe that Ulrike can handle her 263kg BMW.

The children on the back seat are given lollipops, fruit juice and a jigsaw puzzle. The family is completely bowled over by all this attention.

The scene changes to the next tailback at the Horst interchange near Hamburg. A Wolfsburg businessman curses and swears because he is worried he might miss his flight to London from Hamburg airport.

Ulrike is able to offer a unique service being tested in Lower Saxony. Her motor-cycle is equipped not only with a radio operating on police frequencies but a mobile telephone that, unlike a car telephone, can reach any number nationally and internationally and can be reached by dialing a special number.

Ulrike hands the headphone to the businessman in his car. The mobile telephone is preset to dial the airport automatically — along with other important numbers such as the hospital, police and other services.

The businessman was able to change his flight booking and paid for the service just a little more than he would have paid for a call from a public telephone.

There is another aspect to the motorway tailback counsellor idea in Lower Saxony. Ulrike Johannsen has as a pillion passenger Joachim Hoffmann of the German Red Cross, who has artificial respiration equipment in his motorcycle side-pack for first aid to the injured.

On one busy summer weekend he gave first aid to a car passenger injured in a crash in roadworks near Allertal until the ambulance arrived, and a little later pulled a badly-injured woman out of an overturned car near Soltau.

Ulrike Johannsen calmed down a distraught woman who would not allow anyone to give her first aid.

There is another motorcycle fitted out like Ulrike's that runs on holiday weekends. The rider patrols the southern sector of the motorway between Hildesheim and the Hesse state border.

Martin Mühlbauer, 37, an official *from ADAC headquarters* in Munich and the man in charge of training motorway tailback counsellors, feels it would be useful if Lower Saxony's example were followed by other federal states.

He was the first motorway tailback counsellor operating between Munich and Salzburg and had his leg pulled as being Punch in Punch and Judy.

Since then he has trained 83 men and 7 women to be motorway tailback counsellors.

The tailback counsellors are all volunteers and get between DM10 and DM15 an hour as pocket money for their services. Each weekend they drive about 250 kilometres along motorways.

Although they have considerable experience they invariably come across new situations that need a new ap-

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Just the girl for this jam . . . autobahn rider Johannsen. (Photo: Ewald Reverman)

Claudia and Annette want to see army life close up . . . now, read on

Claudia Mai and Annette Dann, both 19, both members of the Junge Union, the young conservatives, wanted to get to know more about the army, so they joined up.

Annette Dann said: "We wanted to be able to talk about the army, but so often we had to say that we had nothing to do with it."

They now have a chance to get an insight into the military and get some idea *of what it is like being a conscript.* They are with 161 recruits in 821 Signals Company stationed in Düsseldorf.

Young soldiers camping out get up in the morning and strip to the waist to wash.

With the girls, both from nearby Ratingen and studying for the *Abitur*, the university entrance exam, stripping would be a problem, so they are trucked back to barracks to take a shower in the morning and the evening.

Lieutenant-Colonel Klaus Tappe, 45, battalion commander, said: "Of course, some limits have had to be imposed."

But apart from the showers the girls have been soldiering just like the young men since the beginning of July.

They are doing basic training, including a week in the bivouac in the military training area.

Claudia and Annette wanted to know what the Bundeswehr, the army, was like right close up. They are dressed in olive-green, just like the young recruits, and have done field training.

They have gone into the ABC of soldiering. But they do not carry weapons and the "steel" helmets" they wear are made of plastic.

Lieutenant-Colonel Tappe made this project possible. There was a *panel discussion* on "Women in the Bundeswehr" *that triggered the project to let the* girls taste army life.

Nothing special is done for them. The *wear blue mascara* but have fingernails of dirt. They sleep in tents, just like the recruits, and take part in training.

When there is a an atomic, biological and chemical warfare alarm they quickly don their masks and rubber ponchos *just like the men.*

There have been no problems integrating them into the unit.

Annette Dann says: "At first there was a little holding back, of course. Suddenly 161 male recruits saw two girls in their midst."

Now the young men think the project was a good thing, but some criticise the fact that the girls do not carry weapons, and so do not go through the really tough training that the conscripts experience.

Signalman Jörg Bruch, 19, from Düsseldorf, also doing the *Abitur*, says: "I can see no reason why I should not do my military service along with girls."

There has been considerable discussion in the company on the theme "Women in the Bundeswehr." Some young recruits ask why it is that women are not obliged to do compulsory military service just like males.

They think it is not fair that girls should be able to get out of doing 15 months in the armed forces.

Claudia Mai, who is studying to be a chemicals laboratory assistant, can see no reason why she should not take up "soldiering" as a career. She said that physically women were quite capable of serving in the forces.

Lieutenant-Colonel Tappe said: "I have two views on the subject. On the one hand women should be able to serve voluntarily in the Bundeswehr. Without arms, of course.

"Then there are any number of problems in the situation, as we know from other armies that recruit women."

Every year about 4,000 women apply to the Defence Ministry wanting to serve in the Bundeswehr.

Annette Dann was able to confirm with aches and pains, that training is not a piece of cake.

She had blisters on her feet, but nevertheless said: "Of course I intend to do the 20-kilometre orientation march — the blisters will go away."

Kaspar Müller-Bringmann

(Rheinische Post, Düsseldorf, 26 July 1986)



Man's world, one. Women in, two. (Photo: Ulrich Horn)

■ TERRORISM

Aim remains the same: only the tactics are new

Three members of the terrorist Red Army Faction (RAF), Eva Sybille Haule-Frimpong, Christian Kluth and Luitgard Hornstein, have been arrested in an ice cream parlour in Rüsselsheim. They were being sought on a variety of counts involving violence. A fourth suspected terrorist, Ursula Barabass, has been arrested on charges of complicity. She is said to have provided the others with shelter. Eighteen years after the first attacks on department stores the heirs of Andreas Baader and Ulrike Meinhof continue to murder and destroy property with increasing brutality.



Ursula Barabass



Christian Kluth



Luitgard Hornstein



Eva Sybille Haule-Frimpong

(Photos: dpa)

RAF activists greeted their sympathisers with the repugnant comment "the comrades have become killers" when, at the height of terrorist bloodshed in 1977, they murdered not only "representatives of the system" such as chief public prosecutor Siegfried Buback and employers' leader Hanns-Martin Schleyer, but also Schleyer's chauffeur and three bodyguards.

That all happened a long time ago. RAF supporters never gave a thought to the fact that when Siemens manager Karl Heinz Beckurts was killed so was his chauffeur Eckart Groppler.

The RAF themselves did not name him in their seven-page letter claiming responsibility for the Munich murder.

Within RAF circles the only concern about the shooting of American serviceman Edward Pimental in Wiesbaden, whose identification papers were required for an attack on the Frankfurt military airport, was whether it was a tactical error.

RAF activists of the third generation fight shy of risks and plan acts that present as little danger to themselves personally as possible.

But the RAF has lost none of its danger. There was a period when they kept a low profile and until the end of the 1970s they were isolated.

The hard core of the group seemed to have slipped off to the Middle East. But today, according to security force estimates, the commando element is almost totally back in the Federal Republic.

Since the end of 1984 and the beginning of 1985 they have increased their armed struggle against the military-industrial complex representing the Nato-US war machine allegedly aimed at suppressing people the world over.

There have been long intervals in this battle but the struggle itself has been systematic.

It was obvious after the murder of Munich company executive Ernst Zimmermann and more recently Professor Beckurts that potential victims of this campaign were people involved in Nato in some way or another, including people in the military and from politics.

Any kind of institution, no matter how far removed from what the terrorists regarded as imperialism, was fair game for RAF bomb attacks.

RAF planning, as developed recently, now includes West German industrial firms involved in the American Strategic Defence Initiative (SDI) and the European Eureka project.

A note left behind after the murder of Siemens executive Beckurts and his driver Groppler accused Beckurts of having taken part in a secret conference for SDI.

A note acknowledging responsibility for the attack on the Fraunhofer Research Institute laboratories stated that laser technology components had been developed there.

Participation in SDI and Eureka was given as the reason for bomb attacks on Dornier, the aerospace group.

The shift of vague aims from radical changes in Germany to the anti-imperialist world revolution has made no difference in the RAF's attitude towards extreme violence. What is noticeable is that their use of violence has become more indiscriminate.

The RAF hard core is made up, as previously, of 20 terrorists. There is a warrant out for the arrest of every one of them.

They are, as in the past, mainly the sons and daughters of educated people. Women are in the majority.

The new development is that between the members of the commando group and sympathisers another group of 20 has been established. They are the "illegal militants."

Luitgart Hornstein and Christian Kluth, both also arrested in Rüsselsheim, probably belonged to this group.

These militants are made up mainly of old, dropout fighters from the inner circle.

There is a marked difference in the methods used by the commando group and the militants in their mutual anti-imperialist aims. While the hard core kill deliberately, the militants try to avoid endangering other people in their attacks.

Over the years the RAF's attraction has not diminished despite a new ideological approach and the major "offensive" mounted since the end of 1984.

As in the past there is the double circle of sympathisers, the close-knit group made up of about 200 firm supporters, from which the hard core of the RAF and the militants is recruited, and a wider circle of like-minded people, about 500. They are uncritical and can be roped into RAF aims.

The underground fighters in the hard core live in isolation. They change their living accommodation regularly, and the homes are inconspicuous, found for them by accomplices.

Previously the militants mixed with people, staying the night in youth hostels and boarding houses. They carried stolen or forged papers. Contrary to the members of the hard core the militants are mostly unarmed.

One of the main reasons the security forces believe that Frau Haule-Frimpong is a member of the commando group is that a pistol was found in her handbag.

Although the RAF writes much about the "international front," the much-talked about "international" of terrorism has for many years been nothing more than a paper tiger.

The successors of Baader and Meinhof worked closely with the French Action Directe (AD) and the Belgian Communist Cells (CCC).

After the murder of French General Audran and the German industrialist Ernst Zimmermann in 1985 a joint communiqué was issued.

A joint statement acknowledging responsibility was issued by the RAF-AD after the bomb attack on the American section of Frankfurt airport in the summer of 1985.

But there are just as few indications that there was foreign participation in these attacks as there is for foreign involvement in the Beckurts murder.

One of the few clues to cooperation between foreign terrorist groups is the theft of explosives in Belgium in June 1984.

The murder of American serviceman Edward Pimental on 7 August 1985 in preparation for an attack on the American Frankfurt air base was a setback for the RAF.

This was heatedly discussed at considerable length at the anti-imperialist congress at the beginning of this year in Frankfurt attended by 1,000.

Sympathisers said in criticism that the shooting of the GI was a betrayal of the revolution. The reasons given for this were not sympathy for the victim, but that the RAF had disregarded "revolutionary ideology" with purely military posturing.

The terrorists expressed partial regret and took a new approach to the ideological foundations of their actions.

This was produced on a 20-page typewritten statement in a magazine entitled "Fighting shoulder to shoulder — a newspaper for the anti-imperialist front in Western Europe," issue number 5 of January 1986.

This said: "We state here clearly that the shooting of the GI in that particular situation was a mistake. It blocked the effect of the attack on the air base as well as the political-military requirements of the action and the offensive overall."

The shooting was "a step towards escalation that in itself had significance," because the attacks in Wiesbaden and Frankfurt were against soldiers who "massacred people in the Third World."

The "direction of the action" became blurred and "ammunition was given to the security forces' propaganda and any number of idiots on the left trying to split resistance to the shooting of the GI."

It was clear from this statement that much though the terrorists regret the fate of the peoples in need of liberation *they don't care a jot about what happens* to their individual victims, whether they are GI Pimental or chauffeur Groppler.

From now on the RAF is pitiless in following the rule that omelettes cannot be made without breaking eggs. In other words, indiscriminate killings will continue.

The RAF took a year after Wiesbaden and Frankfurt to mount their next serious attack. The security forces cannot foresee how things are going to go after the murder of Beckurts and the bombing of research laboratories and firms in July.

The groups endangered by the RAF's aims in its "anti-imperialist struggle" have come to light by arrests and the discovery of "safe" houses. In some instances lists of names have been found.

But no-one can make any rhyme or reason out of their planning.

Potential victims are in the broadest sense representatives of the "military-industrial complex" and, according to the security forces, that does not exclude politicians.

But it is regarded as improbable that there will be an outbreak of attacks against politicians prior to the general election in January next year.

Just how long the nightmare of violence will last no-one knows. Today's terrorists are cunning, cowardly and cautious for their own persons.

It could also be a question of their internal organisation that they prefer remote-controlled bombs to trying, for example, kidnapping. All this makes it difficult to come to grips with them.

Expert circles regard with misgivings the latest CDU/CSU proposal to combat terrorism with the increased use of undercover agents.

It is regarded as quite impossible to infiltrate the commando group of the RAF. The agent would be in the gravest danger and probably have to commit serious crimes to prove his credentials as an accomplice.

There is not much likelihood that RAF insiders will come forward and give information to gain the millions offered in rewards either. RAF revenge is too much feared and their small circle too powerful.

Then there is a sense of belonging together in the underground that makes it difficult to think in terms of betrayal.

Thomas Meyer

(Kölner Stadt-Anzeiger, Cologne, 12 August 1986)

Continued from page 14

proach. They know from ADAC questionnaires that most drivers are obsessed by motorway tailbacks, a phenomenon that Mühlbauer cannot explain.

Despite radio warnings almost 80 per cent of motorists drive straight into a tailback. Later they will tell their friends: "We were caught up in that tailback. Didn't you read about it?"

Ulrike Johannsen says: "If I take off my helmet everyone is amazed that I am a woman and everyone is always very nice to me." It's fun to deal with other people's irritation.

Ewald Revermann

(Die Welt, Bonn, 26 July 1986)